

**Britt Dahlman**

# **SAINT DANIEL OF SKETIS**

**A Group of Hagiographic Texts  
Edited with Introduction, Translation,  
and Commentary**

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## Abstract

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This volume is a new edition with a parallel English translation of eight Greek stories related to Daniel of Sketis: 1) Abba Daniel from Sketis; 2) Abba Mark the Fool; 3) The blind man; 4AB) A holy and chaste young woman; 5) The woman who pretended to be a drunkard; 6) Eulogios the Stone-cutter; 7) Andronikos the Money-dealer and his wife Athanasia; 8) Anastasia Patrikia.

The stories deal with secret saints and holy cross-dressers in sixth-century Egypt. Daniel of Sketis is portrayed as an important monastic authority who knows or discerns secret holiness, and who himself is a secret saint. There are many different redactions of the texts, which are preserved in a great number of MSS. The present edition is based on four related MSS: Scor. R.II.1 (Revilla 21), Par. gr. 919, Mosq. Synod. gr. 345 (Vlad. 342), and Vat. gr. 858. They contain the redactions of two similar Daniel dossiers included in collections of hagiographical material and of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The Introduction discusses, among other things, the diversity of texts mentioning an Abba Daniel associated with Sketis, as well as the theme of secret holiness which is common to all the stories edited here. Details of the contents, as well as textual matters and questions of interpretation and grammar, are discussed in the Commentary. The volume ends with indexes.

Key words: Byzantine Greek, Late Antiquity, Egypt, Alexandria, Daniel of Scetis, Mark the Fool, Marcus salus, Eulogios the Stone-cutter, Eulogius latomus, Thomais Alexandrina, Andronikos and Athanasia, Anastasia Patrikia, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, hagiography, *xeniteia*, monasticism, secret saint, secret servant of God, holy fool, *salos*, holy cross-dresser, desert fathers

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## *To Claes*

Karen: "I would just like to understand ... why  
I'm here."

Stoffer, pointing at her belly: "Perhaps it's  
because there's a little idiot in there that  
wants to come out and have company."

From the film *The Idiots* by Lars von Trier



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Lund, April 2007  
Britt Dahlman

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# Introduction

# Chapter I. The Daniel Texts

## 1. Background

The most famous of the early desert monastic settlements in Lower Egypt was Sketis (modern Wadi Natrun), about 100 km south of Alexandria. It is said to have been founded—or more correctly developed as a monastic colony—at about 330 by Makarios the Egyptian (or the Great). The first monks lived in loosely organized groups of solitary anchorites. Gradually four monastic settlements, *lavras*,<sup>1</sup> were established. The raids of desert tribes against Sketis in the fifth century forced the monks to more organized cenobitic lives in communities. In the sixth century Sketis was a stronghold of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in Egypt. Around 570–580 Sketis was exposed to a devastation with the result that the surviving monks abandoned Sketis and were dispersed for a generation.<sup>2</sup>

The tradition of the monastic centre of Sketis was transmitted orally and in writing. The writings of the desert fathers and mothers were collected in the form of sayings, short dialogues and narratives. The most famous of these *paterika* are the collections of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (AP). The material was organized in two main forms—alphabetically (by name of the fathers and mothers) or systematically (according to virtues). The question of where and when the collections preserved were compiled and organized into the two main types of collections is still much debated.<sup>3</sup> In any case most of the material of the AP belongs to Sketis. In various later collections of the AP or gathered together with other hagiographical material is found a number of stories mentioning an abba named Daniel of Sketis.

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<sup>1</sup> For the term *lavra*, see Commentary on 2:60.

<sup>2</sup> For more on Sketis and its monastic population, see Evelyn White, *Monasteries, passim*; Chitty, *The Desert a City, passim*; Guy, “Scété dans la littérature”, 129–147; idem, *Centre Monastique*; idem, “Introduction”, 35–79; Cody, “Scetis”, 7, 2102–2106. See also Commentary on 1:4–5, 2:7 and 8:2.

<sup>3</sup> Regnault (“Les Apophtegmes”, 80–83) believes that the first alphabetical collection was compiled in the fifth–sixth centuries in Palestine, most likely in the region of Gaza. Cf. also Guy, “Introduction”, 79–84.



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In Greek hagiography of the fourth to the seventh centuries, the terms διήγησις and διήγημα<sup>4</sup> refer to an edifying story. Sometimes a story is called διήγησις ψυχωφελής (“spiritually beneficial story”). The Bollandists<sup>5</sup> were the first to distinguish a separate genre of stories or tales, calling them *narrationes animae utiles*.<sup>6</sup> Halkin lists a great number in Appendix IV of his *BHG*. Wortley lists over 900 stories in his *Répertoire*. Because not all stories are of an edifying character, he applies the following criterion of the genre: “If nothing *happens* in a text; i.e. if there is *no action*, it is not a tale and it is not to be listed as one.”<sup>7</sup> But if we look at the terms used by the hagiographers, much of the hagiographical literature that we today would categorize as “saints’ lives” (*vitae*) are actually referred to as *diegeseis*, not as *bioi* (*vitae*). The *Life of Antony*, for example, is presented in the form of a letter and referred to as a *diegesis* by the author.<sup>8</sup> Thus there is no clear definition of the term *diegesis*.

Wortley numbers seven major Greek collections of stories from about 400 A.D. to the seventh century: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, Palladios’ *Historia Lausiaca*, the two major collections of AP, i.e. the alphabetical and the systematical, the stories associated with Daniel of Sketis, John Moschos’ *Pratum Spirituale*, and the stories attributed to Anastasios the Sinaite.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. The Daniel texts: which are they?

Which are the texts associated with Daniel of Sketis, and do they all refer to the same Daniel? Texts related to a figure (or figures) called Daniel of Sketis are collected in *BHG* under the headings of *Anastasia patricia* (*BHG* 79–80e), *Andronicus et Athanasia* (*BHG* 120–123j), *Daniel Scetiota* (*BHG* 2099z–2102f), *Eulogius latomus* (*BHG* 618–618b), *Marcus salus* (*BHG* 2254–2255), and *Thomais Alexandrina* (*BHG* 2453–2453b). The eight Greek stories edited in the present volume correspond (more or less) to the following *BHG* numbers:

1. Abba Daniel from Sketis, *BHG* 2100: *Daniel Scetiota: De homicidio*

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<sup>4</sup> From the verb διηγέομαι (“to report”).

<sup>5</sup> I.e. La Société des Bollandistes in Brussels.

<sup>6</sup> Wortley, *Tales of Paul*, 27.

<sup>7</sup> Wortley, *Répertoire* (Introduction, 7).

<sup>8</sup> Prologue 4. See Rapp, “Storytelling”, 436–437.

<sup>9</sup> Wortley, *The Spiritual Meadow*, ix–x; Wortley, *Tales of Paul*, 25–26. Cf. also Wortley, *Répertoire* (Introduction, 4–5).

## *The Daniel Texts*

2. Abba Mark the Fool, *BHG* 2255: *Marcus salus*
3. The blind man, *BHG* 2102: *Daniel Scetiota: De mendico caeco*
- 4A. A holy and chaste young woman, no *BHG* number, but cf. *BHG* 2453+b: *Thomais Alexandrina*
- 4B. A holy and chaste young woman, *BHG* 2453+b: *Thomais Alexandrina*
5. The woman who pretended to be a drunkard, *BHG* 2101: *Daniel Scetiota: De virgine ebria*
6. Eulogios the Stone-cutter, *BHG* 618: *Eulogius latomus*
7. Andronikos the Money-dealer and his wife Athanasia, *BHG* 122: *Andronicus et Athanasia*
8. Anastasia Patrikia, *BHG* 79: *Anastasia patricia*

Previously, Greek Daniel texts have been printed in PE and by Clugnet. The eleventh-century anthology of Paul of Evergetis (PE) was first published in 1783. In PE III.48 is found the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter, *BHG* 618b.<sup>10</sup> For the texts of *BHG* 2102a, the story of the monk falsely accused of theft, *BHG* 2102c, J 721, and *BHG* 2128 in PE, see below.

### *2.1. The edition of Clugnet*

In 1900–1901 a collection of eleven Greek texts was published by Clugnet.<sup>11</sup> He edited them in the form and in the order in which they appear in the Daniel dossier of the MS Par. Coisl. 283 (ff. 163r–177r), with some exceptions. His story no. 8 is missing in this MS, and in its place he gives the redaction from the MS Par. gr. 914, inserting it after the story of the drunken woman (his no. 7). In the MS Par. Coisl. 283 the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter follows the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard, but Clugnet here gives the redaction of the MS Par. Suppl. gr. 241. Of each of his stories nos. 2 and 10 he edits three redactions (A–C), of which the last ones (C) are previously printed

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<sup>10</sup> In this redaction the story is narrated by Daniel and no disciple is present. *Inc.*: Διηγῆσατο ὁ Ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ, ὁ Πρεσβύτερος τῆς σκήτεως, εἰπὼν· ὅτε ἡμην νεώτερος, ἦλθον εἰς Θηβαΐδα, καὶ κατήλθον εἰς ἓν κτῆμα πωλῆσαι τὸ ἐργόχειρόν μου· ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ὀνόματι Εὐλόγιος, τῇ τέχνῃ λατόμος. (“Abba Daniel, the presbyter of Sketis, narrated saying: “When I was younger, I went to the Thebaid, and I came to a village to sell my handiwork. And there was a man called Eulogios, a stone-cutter by trade.”)”)

<sup>11</sup> The edition was first published in *ROC*, and then (with some additional MSS variants) in two separate volumes; see Bibliography. Reviews were published by Vailhé, “Review”, 127, Delehaye, “Review”, 95–98, and Bonnet, “Review”, 166–71. Corrections were published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Διορθωτικὰ”, 436–437.

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texts from the *Menaion* published in Venice in 1895.<sup>12</sup> Of his story no. 5 he edits two redactions (A–B), of which B is a previously printed text from the *Menaion*. In the MS Par. Coisl. 283 the stories of the monk falsely accused of theft (ff. 189v–192v) and of Andronikos and Athanasia (ff. 291v–295) are separated from the Daniel dossier. Clugnet edits them as nos. 11 and 10B. After each of the edited stories, except for the last one (no. 11), he also gives redactions from other MSS as variants.

These are the texts edited by Clugnet (with his own headlines):

1. *Le Moine surpris par des démons dans un sépulcre* (Par. Coisl. 283, f. 163r–v; BHG 2102a)
- 2A. *Vie d’Anastasie la Patrice* (Par. Coisl. 283, ff. 163v–165r; BHG 79)
- 2B. *Vie d’Anastasie la Patrice* (Par. gr. 914, ff. 188r–190r; BHG 80)
- 2C. *Vie d’Anastasie la Patrice* (Text from the *Menaion* for March 10; BHG 80e)
3. *Marc le Fou* (Par. Coisl. 283, ff. 165v–166v; BHG 2255)
4. *Le saint Mendiant* (Par. Coisl. 283, f. 167r–v; BHG 2102)
- 5A. *La chaste Thomaïs* (Par. Coisl. 283, ff. 167v–168v; BHG 2453)
- 5B. *La chaste Thomaïs* (Text from the *Menaion* for April 14)
6. *Le Moine tenté* (Par. Coisl. 283, f. 169r; BHG 2453b)
7. *La Religieuse qui simulait l’ivresse*<sup>13</sup> (Par. Coisl. 283, ff. 169r–171v; BHG 2101)
8. *Comment l’abbé Daniel expia un meurtre qu’il avait commis* (Par. gr. 914, ff. 191r–192r; BHG 2100)
9. *Eulogius le Carrier* (Par. Suppl. gr. 241, ff. 277v–282r; BHG 618)
- 10A. *L’orfèvre Andronicus et son épouse Athanasie* (Par. gr. 1598, ff. 247v–252r; BHG 121)
- 10B. *L’Orfèvre Andronicus et son épouse Athanasie* (Par. Coisl. 283, ff. 291v–295r; BHG 122)
- 10C. *L’Orfèvre Andronicus et son épouse Athanasie* (Text from the *Menaion* for October 9; BHG 123d)
11. *Le Moine faussement accusé de vol* (Par. gr. 1605, ff. 164v–267r; BHG 2101a)

Max Bonnet was, for good reasons, very sceptical of Clugnet’s edition: his choice of manuscripts, the way of presenting various texts, the lack of a critical text, the

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<sup>12</sup> The *Menaion* is “a set of 12 liturgical books, one for each month, containing the variable hymns and other texts ... of each feast of the fixed cycle, that is, those feasts that fall on a fixed date in the church calendar”; see *ODB*, 2, 1338, s.v. “Menaion”. It was published in several editions from 1526; see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1, 52.

<sup>13</sup> In *ROC* 5, 67, Clugnet gives it the title *La Religieuse que l’on croyait être une ivrognesse*.

inaccuracy of the Greek, the omission of a commentary and indexes etc.<sup>14</sup> Concerning the number of stories related to this same Daniel, Bonnet rightly pointed out that nos. 5 and 6 are actually just one story,<sup>15</sup> and that nos. 1 and 11 have no connection with the Daniel of the other stories except that they are presented as told by an Abba Daniel.<sup>16</sup>

Clugnet believed all these stories to be related to the same Abba Daniel of Sketis, and many scholars have accepted this. In addition to Clugnet's stories nos. 1 and 11 there are more texts mentioning an Abba Daniel that scholars have regarded as referring to the same Daniel.<sup>17</sup> Some of these texts are numbered in *BHG* under the heading of *Daniel Scetiota*. They are texts that differ in various ways from the eight stories edited in this volume, and it is uncertain if they refer to the same Daniel.<sup>18</sup> They are (including Clugnet, nos. 1 and 11):<sup>19</sup>

*BHG 2101a: De coenobita ad iudicem delato* (Clugnet, no. 11)

*BHG 2101b–c: Narratio de Dula monacho*

*BHG 2102a: De monacho qui in monumento dormiebat* (Clugnet, no. 1)

*BHG 2102c: De balneis*

*BHG 2102d: De moniali in balneis*

*BHG 2102e: De sorore Danielis*

*BHG 2102f: De Longino mon. et quod saeculares non debent monachos leviter accusare*

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<sup>14</sup> Bonnet, "Review", 167–170.

<sup>15</sup> See Commentary on 4A:43–57 / 4B:48–67.

<sup>16</sup> Bonnet, "Review", 170.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, Vivian, "Witness", 7, who writes: "The main Greek manuscripts, which must be given priority, gather together—somewhat haphazardly and precariously—eleven stories related to Abba Daniel of Scetis, which may be supplemented by other stories of even less secure attribution from John Moschus and elsewhere."

<sup>18</sup> To the heading of *Daniel Scetiota*, Halkin, the editor of *BHG*, adds: "a cognominibus monachis aegre discernendus", thus observing the difficulties in discerning different monks with the same name.

<sup>19</sup> Halkin also includes a story, which he calls *Vitanda ostentatio*, *BHG* 2100z. This is a mistake. He refers to the MS Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 501, ff. 43r–47v, but the texts transmitted here are the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard (*BHG* 2101) according to the redaction of the MS Par. Coisl. 283, and then *AP/G* Theodoros of Pherme 28, *AP/G* Poemen 138, *AP/G* Tithoes 6, and *AP/GN* 61 (*ROC* 12, p. 181). The title preceding the first text is περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιεῖν πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ("that one should do nothing with ostentation"), which is the title of book eight of *AP/GS*. The MS transmits the derived systematical collection of the *AP*; see Guy, *Recherches*, 203.

In all these stories (except for *BHG* 2101b), a figure named Daniel, sometimes with the epithet “of Sketis”, is mentioned. But there is no mention of the otherwise ubiquitous anonymous disciple of Daniel. He is mentioned in all eight stories edited in this volume, except one.<sup>20</sup> With the exceptions of *BHG* 2101a, c, and *BHG* 2102a, the texts do not seem to have been transmitted with (or in connection with) other Daniel stories, i.e. within a Daniel dossier, in any MS. There also exist some more texts mentioning an Abba Daniel, which I have included in the following descriptions of “Daniel texts” not edited in this volume.

## *2.2. The story of the monk falsely accused of theft, BHG 2101a–c*

The texts of *BHG* 2101a (Clugnet, no. 11) and *BHG* 2101b–c are variants of the same story. A monk is falsely accused of theft of the community’s sacred equipments. Although he is severely tortured, he does not tell that he is innocent of the crime, but merely repeats: “Forgive me.” He is sentenced to death, but before his execution, the true thief is revealed. The monk dies three days later, but when they come to bury him, they only find his clothes and sandals.

In *BHG* 2101a an Abba Daniel narrates of Abba Doulas, who was considered to be one of the great fathers. This Doulas first lived in a community for forty years. He told the story of an anonymous monk who was falsely accused of theft. Many MSS containing the anonymous series of the normal alphabetical-anonymous *AP* collection (*AP/G+GN*) transmit this redaction in the last section (no. 9) of this series as described by Guy.<sup>21</sup> The story is listed as no. N 642 by Guy.<sup>22</sup> Clugnet used the MS Par. gr. 1605 for his story no. 11.<sup>23</sup> However, most MSS have another reading, viz. “Daniel”, for the name of “Doulas” in the sentence “This Doulas first lived etc.”<sup>24</sup> The reading “Daniel” is most probably not original. With that reading the text may be interpreted in the way that the monk who was falsely accused of theft was Doulas, although no name is given.

In *BHG* 2101c an Abba Daniel of Sketis says that he had lived both in a community and in solitude. He tells the story of the monk who was falsely

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<sup>20</sup> See part 5 of this Chapter, below.

<sup>21</sup> On this series, see further Chapter III, part 2.3, below.

<sup>22</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 73.

<sup>23</sup> This MS transmits an abridged version of *AP/G+GN*. In this MS, the Daniel dossier in section no. 8 consists of the stories of Doulas, Eulogios the Stone-cutter, and Anastasia Patrikia; see Guy, *Recherches*, 103. A French translation of Clugnet, no. 11, is published in Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1642.

<sup>24</sup> Besides the MS Par. gr. 1605, the reading “Doulas” is found in Vat. gr. 1632.

accused of theft. He is here named Doulas. This redaction is found in MSS containing the derived alphabetical–anonymous *AP* collection, such as EPMV.<sup>25</sup>

In *BHG* 2101b there is no narrator of the story. The monk is called Doulas in some MSS, in others he is anonymous.

The story is also found in PE II.1.8.2 in a shorter, divergent, redaction. Here, as in the case of *BHG* 2101a, an Abba Daniel tells of Abba Doulas, who first lived in a community for forty years, and then lived a life of solitude in Sketis. He was considered to be one of the great fathers, and this Doulas told the story of an anonymous monk who was falsely accused of theft.

For a comparison of the *incipits* of these redactions, see the next page.

The underlined words in the comparison express the same meaning, with almost exactly the same words, as in 1:2–4, where it is said of Daniel of Sketis: καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν κοινοβίῳ ἐκαθέσθη ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ μόνας ἡσκέετο (“At first he lived in a community for forty years; then he practised asceticism in solitude”). As can be seen from the comparison in PE II.1.8.2 the same is said of Doulas (although partly in other words), and in *BHG* 2101a, Doulas (or Daniel) is said to have “first lived in a community for forty years”. In *BHG* 2101c, Daniel of Sketis says that he had “lived both in a community and in solitude”. Ch. Faraggiana has shown how the *incipits* of some apophthegmatical texts have undergone processes of simplification. They are attributed to different monks, or have changed from being named to anonymous in later collections.<sup>26</sup> It may, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that the *incipits* of PE II.1.8.2 and *BHG* 2101a represent earlier stages of the text than the *incipits* of *BHG* 2101c and b, which appear to be simplified versions. The sentence καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ... ἡσκέετο in story no. 1 may derive from a redaction close to that of PE II.1.8.2, which lacked the passages mentioning the name of Abba Doulas. It does not occur in the redactions of e.g. the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283.

This story has the theme of secret holiness and humility in common with the Daniel stories edited in this volume. There are, however, also differences. An abba named Daniel (sometimes with the epithet “of Sketis”) is the narrator of the story (except in the redaction of *BHG* 2101b), but, as Bonnet points out, he does not play a role in the story and the mentioning of him as a narrator is the

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<sup>25</sup> On this collection, see further Chapter III, part 1.2, below. In E the reading ὁ Σκητιώτης (“of Sketis”) is omitted.

<sup>26</sup> Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 457–458, 465–467.

Comparison of redactions of the story of the monk falsely accused of theft

PE II.1.8.2

Ἦλεγεν ὁ ᾿Αββᾶς Δανιήλ περὶ ᾿Αββά Δουλά, ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Κοινοβίῳ ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα· εἴτα ἐν τῇ Σκήττει ἠσύχασε, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις τῶν Πατέρων ἐλογίσθη. Οὗτος οὖν φησιν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι διαφόρως δοκιμάσας, εὗρον ὅτι [...] ᾿Αδελφός γάρ τις ἦν ἐν Κοινοβίῳ, ...

Abba Daniel said of Abba Doulas, that he first lived in a community for forty years. Then he lived a life of solitude in Sketis, and he was considered to be one of the great fathers. This Doulas, Daniel said, told: ‘Having put it to a test in various ways I have found, that [...] For there was, For there was a brother in a community ...’

Διηγῆσατο ὁ ᾰββᾶς Δανιήλ, ὅτι ἐγένετό τις μοναχὸς Δουλᾶς ὀνόματι, ὃς καὶ ἐν μεγάλοις τῶν πατέρων ἐλογίσθη. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Δουλᾶς (ναρ. Δανιήλ) τὰ πρῶτα ἐν κοινοβίῳ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι· διαφόρως δοκιμάσας εὗρον, ὅτι [...] ἐγένετο γάρ, φησὶν, ἀδελφός τις ἐν κοινοβίῳ ...

Abba Daniel narrated, that there was a monk named Doulas, who was considered to be one of the great fathers. This Doulas (var. Daniel) first lived in a community for forty years. He said: ‘Having put it to a test in various ways I have found, that [...] For there was, he said, a brother in a community ...’

BHG 2101a (Par. gr. 1605, f. 264v) BHG 2101c (P, f. 23vb)

Ἦλεγεν ὁ ᾰββᾶς Δανιήλ ὁ Σκητιώτης ὅτι· ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν κοινοβίῳ ἐκάθισα καὶ κατὰ μόνας καὶ πάντα δοκιμάσας εὗρον, ὅτι [...] ἐγένετο γὰρ ἀδελφός τις Δουλᾶς ὀνόματι ἐν κοινοβίῳ ...

Abba Daniel of Sketis said: ‘I have lived both in a community and in solitude and having put it all to a test I have found, that [...] For there was a brother named Doulas in a community ...’

BHG 2101b (Par. gr. 1598, f.202v)

Ἦγένετό τις ἀδελφὸς ἐν κοινοβίῳ ...

There was a brother in a community ...



only connection with the Daniel of the other stories.<sup>27</sup> Neither is there an anonymous disciple.

The four MSS (EPMV) used for the present edition transmit *BHG* 2101c under the title Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δουλᾶ (“Abba Doulas”),<sup>28</sup> shortly after the Daniel dossier. In E, P, and M the Daniel dossier is followed by *AP/G* Daniel 7 (where this Daniel is called “the Pharanite”), *AnastSin* 52, *BHG* 2101c, and *AP/G* Daniel 8.<sup>29</sup> The redactor of this material seems to consider the Daniel of the story of the monk falsely accused of theft to be the same person as the Daniel of the *AP*, the disciple of Arsenios.<sup>30</sup> In V the story follows immediately after the eight Daniel stories, but it does not appear to be a part of the Daniel dossier, since the Daniel stories are numbered ι'–ις' (“10–16”; story no. 2 has neither a title nor a number of its own; see the *apparatus criticus*). Furthermore, a sign which recurs in the MS indicates that it is a new father who is treated, i.e. the Daniel who was the disciple of Arsenios.

### 2.3. *The story of the monk who slept in a tomb, BHG 2102a*

Another text where an abba named Daniel of Sketis is only the narrator is the story of the monk who slept in a tomb, *BHG* 2102a (Clugnet, no. 1). It is very short and similar to the sayings in the *AP*. Abba Daniel of Sketis narrates how two demons chose not to torment a brother who went into a tomb to sleep, because “he is already ours”, and decide rather to “afflict those who afflict us and make war by prayer by night and day”.

The text is also found in PE II.1.8.2, but is there told by a nameless monk: *inc.* Διηγῆσατό τις γέρων (“An elder narrated”). Most MSS containing *AP/GN* transmit this story as the first text of the Daniel dossier in section no. 8.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.4. *The story of the monk who went to the baths, BHG 2102c*

The text of *BHG* 2102c (*De balneis*) is printed in PE III.16.7.<sup>32</sup> Abba Palladios narrates how he and Abba Daniel went to Alexandria where they met a younger

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<sup>27</sup> Bonnet, “Review”, 170.

<sup>28</sup> M lacks the first part of the story; see the next note.

<sup>29</sup> In M, according to the microfiches I have at my disposal, *AnastSin* 52 ends abruptly at f. 54v, and the next text, *BHG* 2101c, begins at f. 55r in the middle of the story. Some four folia may have been lost in M or its *Vorlage*.

<sup>30</sup> I.e. Daniel no. 2 on the list in part 3 of this Chapter, below.

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter III, part 2.3, below.

<sup>32</sup> A French translation of this text is published in Regnault, *SPD nouv. rec.*, 183–185.



brother coming from the baths. When they saw him, Daniel sighed and said to Palladios: “Do you see that brother? The name of God will be blasphemed because of him, but let us follow him so that we may see where he stays.”<sup>33</sup> They followed him and Daniel confronted him, criticizing him for bathing although he was not sick. The monk reproved Daniel for judging him, and Daniel begged his forgiveness. After they had left, Daniel said to Palladios (who is here called “brother”) that he had seen a great number of demons around the young monk. They returned to Sketis, and some days later monks coming from Alexandria reported that the young monk, who was a priest at Constantinople, had been caught in adultery with the wife of an official. He had been castrated and had died three days later. Palladios went and told this to Daniel, who wept and said: “Calamity is the correction of the arrogant”.<sup>34</sup>

Another redaction of the story is found in the MS Venice, Marc. II.21. This MS contains material from the *PratSpir*, part of which has been edited by Mioni. He has listed all the material according to the numbers given in the MS, where this text is no. 152.<sup>35</sup> The same redaction is found in the MS Par. gr. 1596 (pp. 650–652). They both give an additional *desinit*, whose text in Par. gr. 1596 is printed by Nau.<sup>36</sup> As in the text of PE, Palladios went and told the news to Daniel, who said the same thing. Daniel is with Abba Isaac, the *hegumenos* of Sketis. And then Palladios narrates: “I secretly told the *hegumenos* what the elder had seen and had said to me, whereupon Abba Isaac, deeming it worthy also for writing, commanded it to be written down and set in the book of the wonder-working fathers for the edification and benefit of those who read it.”<sup>37</sup>

Vivian believes that this might be the same Daniel as in the other stories, that Palladios is the name of the hitherto anonymous disciple of Daniel, and that this might be a description of how the whole group of Daniel stories came to be written down: “This story, though a bit more paraenetic than the others, does

<sup>33</sup> Καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Γέρων ἐστέναξε, καὶ λέγει μοι· ὁρᾷς τοῦτον τὸν ἀδελφόν; βλασφημηθῆναι ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι’ αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ ἀκολουθήσωμεν αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἴδωμεν αὐτὸν ποῦ μένει.

<sup>34</sup> παίδευσις ὑπερηφάνῳ πτωμα.

<sup>35</sup> *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, no. 152, p. 78. For this MS, see also Mioni, *Bibl. Divi Marci*, 106–110. Note that the folia numbers given by Mioni (in both works) are not agreeing with those in the MS.

<sup>36</sup> Nau, “Vies d’anachorètes”, 99.

<sup>37</sup> καὶ διηγησάμην λάθρα τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος ὁραθέντα καὶ λαληθέντα πρὸς μέ, διὸ καὶ ὡς ἄξια γραφῆς, ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰσαὰκ γραφῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν σημειοφόρων πατέρων, πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων.

not seem out of place or character with the stories in the main collection. This tale becomes intriguing because it gives a name—Palladius—to the hitherto anonymous disciple/narrator. [...] We are given here nothing less than the *raison d'être* of the Daniel dossier, both the reason for its existence—edification—and the means by which it came into being—Palladius, on orders from Abba Isaac, wrote it. Could Isaac's order have prompted Palladius to gather other stories about Daniel? And, in doing so, did Palladius quietly and humbly remove his name from the accounts, becoming the anonymous narrator-disciple of the dossier? Once again, we cannot know for sure, but it certainly seems possible.”<sup>38</sup>

Although there is a possibility of this being true, there is still more speaking against it: The story is not transmitted within a Daniel dossier in any of the MSS which, to my knowledge, contain the story.<sup>39</sup> In this story the *hegumenos* of Sketis is called Isaac, and Daniel is an ordinary elder. In the story of Abba Mark the Fool, Daniel is called *hegumenos* of Sketis. Besides, in most of the other stories he is portrayed as a highly respected and important monastic authority.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Palladios may be the disciple of Daniel, but this is not explicitly expressed.<sup>41</sup> In the Daniel stories the disciple of Daniel is always anonymous.

## *2.5. The story of the woman in the baths, BHG 2102d*

The text of *BHG* 2102d (*De moniali in balneis*) is listed in *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, as no. 151, and printed by Mioni as text no. XI: Abba Peter, the disciple of Abba Isaiah, narrates how they, when they were at Abba Makarios', met some people having with them a nun possessed by a devil. The devil told Isaiah that he went into her at the command of Abba Daniel because she used to go to the baths.

These figures probably lived in the fifth century. Abba Isaiah is most likely Isaiah of Sketis, who died in Palestine in 491. Also his disciple Peter the Iberian, who became bishop of Maiuma, died in 491.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 21.

<sup>39</sup> According to *BHG*, the MSS containing this story are Leiden, Bibl. Publ. gr. 73B, Par. gr. 1596, Par. Coisl. 378, Vat. gr. 1951, Venice, Marc. II.21, and Venice, Marc. II.70.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. story no. 5.

<sup>41</sup> There is an Abba Palladios in *PratSpir* 69–76.

<sup>42</sup> For a recent study of Isaiah with a translation of his works, see Chryssavgis & Penkett, *Isaiah*.

## 2.6. The story of Daniel's sister, BHG 2102e

*BHG* 2102e (*De sorore Danielis*) relates how a monk named Daniel abandons his sister in Alexandria to live as a monk in the desert. She becomes a prostitute. The monk goes to the city and converts his sister, who in repentance accompanies him into the desert. On the road she suffers severe bleeding from her feet, and dies. Sleeping on her grave the monk has a dream in which his sister's repentance is weighed and found to be heavier than her impurity. The monk awakes and leaves rejoicing. Part of the text is published by Skaka & Wortley.<sup>43</sup> According to *BHG* it is recorded from three MSS.<sup>44</sup> They all contain material from the *PratSpir*. In the MS Venice, Marc. II.21, the story is listed as no. 114.<sup>45</sup>

Variants of the story are *BHG* 1438h and *BHG* 1438hb (*De scorto converso*). In these redactions the monk whose sister is a repentant harlot is anonymous. A Syriac version of the story is published by Brock.<sup>46</sup> In this version the monk is anonymous, but the story is presented as narrated by an Abba Daniel. The text of *BHG* 1438hb is edited, with an English translation, by Skaka & Wortley.<sup>47</sup> They show that this text represents an earlier version than the other texts. The Syriac version is based on the text of *BHG* 1438hb: "The Syriac follows the Greek text closely, using exactly the same vocabulary and imagery."<sup>48</sup> *BHG* 2102e is an abridged redaction of *BHG* 1438hb. The changes in this redaction are mainly a simplification of the style, omissions of whole phrases, and some additions in the final paragraph.<sup>49</sup> *BHG* 1438h is a much shorter abbreviated redaction of *BHG* 1438hb. For example, the dream vision is missing in this redaction.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Skaka & Wortley, "Daniel's sister", 195–196, 200.

<sup>44</sup> The MSS are Par. Coisl. 369, Par. Suppl. gr. 147, and Venice, Marc. II.21.

<sup>45</sup> See *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, no. 114, p. 75.

<sup>46</sup> Brock, "A Syriac *Narratio*", 269–272.

<sup>47</sup> Skaka & Wortley, "Daniel's sister", 202–208. The text is found in the monastic florilegium called *Ekloge Kephalaion* compiled by John Oxites at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century; see Skaka & Wortley, "Daniel's sister", 201.

<sup>48</sup> Skaka & Wortley, "Daniel's sister", 198. However, they state that there are differences. The Syriac version is longer giving in many cases expanded readings.

<sup>49</sup> Skaka & Wortley, "Daniel's sister", 199–200.

<sup>50</sup> Skaka & Wortley, "Daniel's sister", 200–201. *BHG* 1438h is printed in *AP/GN* 43 (*ROC* 12, pp. 174–175), and in *PE* I.1.4.6. According to Skaka & Wortley ("Daniel's sister", 195, n. 3), it is also found in Nikon of the Black Mountain's *Interpretations* 52 in the MS Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 496 (ff. 185v–186v). See also the French translation in Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1043.

Skaka & Wortley question if the story is “to be included in the Daniel dossier”, mainly because there is no mention of the name of Daniel in the redaction they claim to be the basis of the versions, and no mention of the anonymous disciple. Yet they assume that the story is about Daniel, believing that the event described is as “extraordinary” as those in the other Daniel stories, and that the colourful descriptions and phrases in the story are similar to those in the other Daniel stories.<sup>51</sup> However, these are weak arguments, which can be adduced regarding many other stories. But there may be reason to believe that this story was originally narrated by an Abba Daniel about an anonymous monk. If we compare the *incipits* of the four versions, it seems that the *inc.* of the Syriac version, in which Daniel appears as the narrator, represents an earlier stage of the text than the *incipits* of the other versions, which appear to give simplified texts.<sup>52</sup> I give here the comparison table made by Skaka & Wortley,<sup>53</sup> though placing the texts in a different order to show the possible process of simplification of the *incipits* from the Syriac version at the left to the Greek redactions at the right:

Syriac version	BHG 2102e	BHG 1438hb	BHG 1438h
Abba Daniel used to relate how there was a certain brother who was living in Alexandria, and he had a sister in the flesh. He left her behind in Alexandria and went out and having made himself a cell in the mountain, was dwelling there ... (tr. by Brock)	Ἦν τις μοναχὸς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὀνόματι Δανιήλ ἔχων ἀδελφήν· καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτήν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὰ Ὅρη. Ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἐξέδωκε αὐτήν τῇ ἀσωτίᾳ ...	Ἀδελφὴν τις οἰκίαν καταλιπὼν αὐτήν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἐμόνασεν ἐν τῷ Ὄρει. Ἡ δὲ καταλειφθεῖσα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀσωτίᾳ τῆς πορνείας ἑαυτήν ἐκδέδωκε ...	Ἀδελφὸς τις ἐκάθητο εἰς κελλίον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν πολλῇ ταπεινώσει διαλάμπων. Ὑπῆρχε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀδελφὴ πορνεύουσα ἐν τῇ πόλει ...

<sup>51</sup> Skaka & Wortley, “Daniel’s sister”, 195–196.

<sup>52</sup> Note that this only applies to the *incipits*. As a whole, the Syriac version may well be based on BHG 1438hb or a Greek text close to it. On the process of simplification that the *incipits* of many hagiographical texts have undergone, see further part 2.2 of this Chapter, above.

<sup>53</sup> Skaka & Wortley, “Daniel’s sister”, 195–196.

2.7. *The story of Longinos the Wonder-worker*, BHG 2102f / K 296

The story of Longinos the Wonder-worker, BHG 2102f (*De Longino mon. et quod saeculares non debent monachos leviter accusare*), is still inedited.<sup>54</sup> Abba Silvanos narrates how he went with Abba Longinos the Wonder-worker to Alexandria, where they were met by Abba Daniel of Sketis and then received by Isidoros, the hosteller (*xenodochos*). They were called to visit the patriarch Timotheos. On their way they were involved in an argument with some laymen, Longinos telling the laymen that they should not condemn monks.

To my knowledge the story is recorded in four MSS.<sup>55</sup> Guy lists the story in the MS Par. Coisl. 283 as no. K 296.<sup>56</sup> In the MS Jerusalem, S. Sepulchri 113, the story has an additional episode, in which Abba Serapion Sindonios is mentioned. As is the case of some of the other stories presented above, there are chronological reasons why this, at least from a historical point of view, cannot be the same Daniel. The figures mentioned in this story lived in the fourth century, not in the sixth century: Isidoros, the hosteller of the church of Alexandria, is mentioned in *HL* 1,<sup>57</sup> in Palladios' other work *Dialogus de vita sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi*, and by some fifth-century Church historians. Serapion Sindonios is mentioned in *HL* 37. The patriarch is probably Timotheos I (381–385) and not Timotheos III (519–537), as claimed by Regnault in his translation of the story.<sup>58</sup>

2.8. *The story of Daniel, the Egyptian* (PratSpir 114)

Evelyn White and Garitte mention that there is a text in the *PratSpir* in which an abba Daniel the Egyptian figures.<sup>59</sup> In *PratSpir* 114 Abba John of Petra tells the authors, i.e. John Moschos and Sophronios the Sophist, about Abba Daniel the Egyptian. He was once accused of being the father of a child, but when Daniel asked the child who was its father, the child, being twenty-two days old, pointed at its real father.

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<sup>54</sup> I am preparing an edition of this story.

<sup>55</sup> The MSS Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 257, Jerusalem, S. Sepulchri 113, Par. Coisl. 283, and Vat. gr. 731.

<sup>56</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 100. A French translation of this text is published in Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1490/2.

<sup>57</sup> Palladios wrote *HL* in 419/420.

<sup>58</sup> Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1490/2, p. 171.

<sup>59</sup> Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 241, n. 1; Garitte, "Daniel de Scété", 71–72.

2.9. *The story of Eulogios*, BHG 2128 / J 762

As has been noted above, the texts of *BHG* 2102c–e, and the story of Daniel, the Egyptian, all mentioning an Abba Daniel, is found in the *PratSpir*. To these texts one may add the story of Abba Eulogios, *BHG* 2128 (and the next saying attributed to an Abba Daniel of Sketis). The story of Abba Eulogios is found in *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, no. 153, and in the MS Sinai gr. 448, where it is part of the last section (no. 9) of the normal anonymous series of *AP*. It is listed by Guy as no. J 762.<sup>60</sup> The story is printed in PE I.22.4.3. Abba Eulogios recommended his disciples not to stay in Alexandria for more than three days. He told them that he once, after thirty-eight years without leaving Sketis, went to the city together with Abba Daniel to visit the Patriarch Eusebios. There he saw many monks who were tormented by demons.

No patriarch named Eusebios is recorded in the lists of patriarchs of Alexandria. There exist, however, a collection of sermons and a *Life of Eusebios of Alexandria*. The works, which are claimed to have been written down by Eusebios' secretary John, are fictitious, and were probably written in the sixth or in the beginning of the seventh century. In the *Life*, Eusebios is said to have been the successor of Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria, who died in 444.<sup>61</sup> In that case the events in the story of Eulogios would have taken place in the fifth century.

2.10. *The saying of the PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, no. 120

Another text which is found in the *PratSpir* of the MS Venice, Marc. II.21, is a saying attributed to an Abba Daniel of Sketis. The text, which is not recorded in *BHG*, is listed by Mioni as no. 120.<sup>62</sup> As is the case of *BHG* 2101a, c, and *BHG* 2102a, this text is attributed to an Abba Daniel of Sketis. He describes how many people leave their families to live as monks, practising great virtues, but also how they become the joy of the demons when they make luxuries, coffins full of them. Those who break the rules of the Fathers, are worthy of punishment. The same saying, but without an attribution to Daniel, is printed in PE II.6.2.3. This anonymous saying is also found in the MS Sinai gr. 448, where

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<sup>60</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 97. A French translation of this text is published in Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1762.

<sup>61</sup> See Mioni's commentary in *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, no. 153, p. 78, and Darrouzès, "Eusèbe d'Alexandrie", 1686–1687.

<sup>62</sup> *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni, no. 120, p. 76.

it is part of the last section (no. 9) of the normal anonymous series of *AP*, and it is listed by Guy as no. J 721.<sup>63</sup>

### 2.11. *The Coptic and Ethiopic Lives of Abba Daniel*

In connection with Clugnet's edition in *ROC* and in his series *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale*, Syriac and Coptic versions were published as well. The Coptic version published by Guidi with an Italian translation forms a vita of Abba Daniel.<sup>64</sup> It consists of five episodes. They are, according to the titles given by Clugnet: *Marc le Fou*, *Eulogius le Carrier*, *Le Voleur qui se convertit*, *Opposition faite par Daniel aux décisions du Concile de Chalcédoine*, and *Mort de Daniel au monastère de Tambok*.<sup>65</sup> The last three of these episodes are not found among the Greek Daniel texts. There are, though, two Greek versions of the episode called *Le Voleur qui se convertit*. In the Greek versions of the story of the converted robber (*BHG* 1450kb) there is no mention of an Abba Daniel.<sup>66</sup>

An Ethiopic version of stories related to Daniel of Sketis was published with a Portuguese translation in 1897 by Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira.<sup>67</sup> The text is edited from the MS Berlin. orient. 117, ff. 26r–64r, and it, too, forms a vita of Abba Daniel. The *Life* is given as a homily intended to be read on Daniel's feast day on Tahsas 7 (December 16). It consists of nine (or ten)<sup>68</sup> episodes. They are, according to the titles given by Clugnet: *Anastasie la Patrice*, *Marc le Fou*, *Eulogius le Carrier*, *La chaste Thomaïs*, *Le Moine tenté*, *La Religieuse qui simulait l' ivresse*, *La Pécheresse pénitente*, *Le Voleur qui se convertit*, *Opposition faite par Daniel aux décrets du Concile de Chalcédoine*, and *Mort de Daniel*.<sup>69</sup> The last four of these episodes are not found among the Greek Daniel texts. For the episode called *Le Voleur qui se convertit*, see above.

The last two episodes in the Coptic and Ethiopic *Lives of Abba Daniel* depict Daniel as a fierce critic of the Council of Chalcedon, refusing to support the

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<sup>63</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 96. A French translation of this text is published in Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1721.

<sup>64</sup> Guidi, *ROC* 5, 535–552, Ital. tr.: 553–564 / 83–99, Ital. tr.: 100–111.

<sup>65</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 87 / xxxii. The episode of Daniel opposing the Council of Chalcedon was reprinted in Guidi, *Elementa*, 46–48.

<sup>66</sup> For more about this story, see Commentary on 5:55.

<sup>67</sup> Reviewed by Delehay, "Review of *Vida do Daniel*", 367. Corrections were published by Guidi, *ROC* 6, 54–56 / 114–116.

<sup>68</sup> Clugnet (*ROC* 6, 87 / xxxii) lists ten, counting *La chaste Thomaïs* and *Le moine tenté* as two stories. They are in fact one; see Commentary on 4A:43–57 / 4B:48–67.

<sup>69</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 87 / xxxii.



*Tome* of Pope Leo even though he is threatened by the soldiers of Justinian. He throws the *Tome* to the ground<sup>70</sup> and curses the Council of Chalcedon and its supporters, whereupon the soldiers torture him. He then flees to the small village of Tambok<sup>71</sup> in Lower Egypt, where he builds a monastery. After the death of Emperor Justinian he returns to Sketis. According to the Coptic *Life* the barbarians attack Sketis, and he again flees to Tambok together with his disciple. Daniel's death (in Tambok according to the Coptic *Life*) is described in the last episode.

Clugnet rejected these episodes as dubious. He doubted that Daniel was a supporter of the anti-Chalcedonian theology, a "hérétique" or "monophysite" as he put it.<sup>72</sup> He argued that the episodes are not found among the Greek, Syriac, or Arabic texts. Furthermore, the other stories do not show any anti-Chalcedonian tendencies; on the contrary, Daniel is highly respected for his perfection, which contradicts his violent behaviour in his opposition against the Council of Chalcedon. Nor can it be chronologically reconciled with the story of Anastasia, since Daniel visited her regularly during the period he would have been in Tambok. Therefore Clugnet believed that the last episodes in the Ethiopic and Coptic *Lives* are additional stories written by anti-Chalcedonians who wanted to make Daniel one of their saints. Evelyn White supported this belief: "We must conclude, then, that the story of the *Tome* of Leo is apocryphal, and that it has been inserted in the Coptic version rather than deleted from the Greek under Orthodox influence. Probability is that it is a mere reflection from its almost exact counterpart in the history of Samuel of Kalamûn."<sup>73</sup>

Van Cauwenbergh opposed this view.<sup>74</sup> He doubted the historical value of the texts, but regarding Daniel's life, he considered one thing to be credible: the portraying of Daniel as an anti-Chalcedonian figure, paradoxically, almost the only thing Clugnet found dubious. As van Cauwenbergh noted, it is not surprising that Daniel is portrayed as a prominent anti-Chalcedonian figure. In the time of Emperor Justinian there was a strong monastic resistance in Egypt against the Council of Chalcedon. Daniel is not inserted into the Greek Orthodox Calendar, as is e.g. Anastasia Patrikia, something which may indicate his non-

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<sup>70</sup> According to the Ethiopic version, he tears it to pieces.

<sup>71</sup> The name of the village is not mentioned in the Ethiopic version.

<sup>72</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 79–80 / xxiv–xxv.

<sup>73</sup> Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 247.

<sup>74</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 27–28.



orthodoxical status.<sup>75</sup> It is more likely that these episodes, too, were originally written in Greek—versions which have not survived, as is the case of a great deal of other literature defending anti-Chalcedonian views—than that they have been written down and inserted into the Coptic and Ethiopic *Lives* by anti-Chalcedonians simply with the purpose of establishing Daniel as their saint.

## *2.12. Daniel in the Ethiopic Synaxarium*

There is a large number of various redactions and versions of Daniel texts in liturgical collections in a number of languages.<sup>76</sup> Evelyn White and Garitte observed that in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* for Hamle 1 (July 8), as well as in the Arabic *Synaxarium* for Abib 1 (July 8), an Abba Daniel of Sketis is mentioned.<sup>77</sup> The priests and brothers Beyok and Benjamin seek the advice of “Saint Abba Daniel, Abbot of the desert of Scete”.<sup>78</sup> Other texts in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* mentioning an Abba Daniel of Sketis are the following:

Hedar 12 (November 21): Philotheos, Archbishop of Alexandria, sent “to the desert of Scete, to a certain righteous monk, and that monk, whose name was Abba Daniel, came forthwith to him from the monastery of Abba Macarius, and he appointed him bishop of the Ethiopians and sent him to them. And when Abba Daniel arrived in Ethiopia the people received him with great honour, and he removed the wrath [of God] from them, and he made them to conquer their enemies who had rebelled against them in times past”.<sup>79</sup>

Hedar 16 (November 25): The commemoration of Abba Daniel of Sketis and Emperor Honorius. Abba Daniel was a monk, a “fighter in the desert of Scete, in the monastery of Abba Macarius”. After forty years of eating nothing except herbs and water, he asked in his heart who was his equal in fasting. An angel told him that Emperor Honorius would be his “companion in the kingdom of the heavens”. When Daniel met the emperor, he found out that “for forty years he

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<sup>75</sup> He is, though, commemorated in the Coptic and Ethiopic Orthodox Calendars on Bashans (Genbot) 8 (May 16). For the two dates in the Ethiopic Calendar, see parts 2.12 and 3 of this Chapter, below.

<sup>76</sup> For lists of such editions, see Garitte, “Daniel de Scété”, 72, and the following articles in *BS*: Fusconi, “Anastasia”, 1, 1039–1040, Brandi, “Andronico e Atanasia”, 1, 1178–1179, and Kur, “Tomaide”, 12, 529–530.

<sup>77</sup> Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 241, n. 1; Garitte, “Daniel de Scété”, 71–72. The Ethiopic text (with a French translation by I. Guidi) is found in PO 7, 209–212. For an English translation of the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, see Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*.

<sup>78</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 4, 1051.

<sup>79</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 1, 234.

had neither eaten food nor worn raiment which he had not earned by the labour of his hands” and done many other good things. They both died on the same day in Sketis.<sup>80</sup> The theme of this text is what can be called “spiritual rivalry”.<sup>81</sup> Honorius was Emperor 393–423.

Tahsas 7 (December 16): The commemoration of “Abba Daniel of Dabra Sîhât (monastery of Scete?), the monastery of Abba Macarius”. The episodes described deal with “the Empress Patricia”, Mark, Eulogios the Stone-cutter, Daniel’s opposition against the Faith of Chalcedon, the virgin who pretended to be mad, the converted robber, and Daniel’s death.<sup>82</sup>

Tahsas 19 (December 28): Abba John “went into the desert of Scete in the days of Abba Daniel, Abbot of the desert of Scete”.<sup>83</sup>

Ter 26 (February 3): The commemoration of Saint Anastasia, who “was a daughter of the palace of the city of Constantinia”, and who “fled to the desert of Scete and took refuge with Abba Daniel, the abbot”.<sup>84</sup>

Genbot 8 (May 16): The commemoration of “Abba Daniel, abbot of the desert of Scete”. The episodes described deal with Anastasia and Eulogios the Stone-cutter.<sup>85</sup>

Hamle 28 (August 4): The commemoration of Saints Andronikos and Athanasia.<sup>86</sup>

### *2.13. Other old versions and modern translations*

The Syriac version published by Nau contains the stories of the woman who pretended to be mad and the story of Anastasia Patrikia.<sup>87</sup> They are translated into English by Brock & Ashbrook Harvey.<sup>88</sup> A Syriac version of the story of Andronikos and Athanasia was published in 1896 in *AMS*.<sup>89</sup> Part of this story has been translated into French by Nau.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 1, 252–255.

<sup>81</sup> For more on this theme in the so called “comparison stories”, see Chapter II, part 1, below.

<sup>82</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 2, 332–334.

<sup>83</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 2, 390.

<sup>84</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 2, 545–546.

<sup>85</sup> Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 3, 864–866.

<sup>86</sup> PO 7, 435–438; Wallis Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 4, 1167–1168.

<sup>87</sup> Nau, *ROC* 5, 391–401 / 68–78. In the Syriac version the woman of story no. 5 is mad, not drunk.

<sup>88</sup> Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 142–149.

<sup>89</sup> *AMS*, 6, 405–417.

<sup>90</sup> Nau, *ROC* 5, 401–406 / 78–82.

## Introduction

There are also Daniel texts in Palestinian Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Old Church Slavonic, and Latin.<sup>91</sup> One MS, a palimpsest containing a Palestinian Syriac version of the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter and the beginning of the story of Anastasia Patrikia, is claimed to be from the seventh century. If this is correct, this is the oldest extant testimony of a Daniel text.<sup>92</sup>

Modern translations of the texts published by Clugnet have been made into English, French and Modern Greek.<sup>93</sup> A Swedish translation of the stories of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard and Anastasia Patrikia of the present edition will appear in 2007.<sup>94</sup>

### 3. The Daniel texts: one Daniel, or several?

What are the scholars' views on the question of whether the texts refer to the same Daniel? Before answering this question, let us first state what other figures called Daniel of Sketis we know of. There were at least three other persons with the same name. They lived in the fourth–fifth centuries, not in the sixth century as did “our” Daniel.<sup>95</sup> They are:

1) The Daniel in Cassian, *Conlat.* 4. He was a disciple of Paphnutios Bubalis, who flourished in Sketis about 360–400. Paphnutios wanted him to be his successor, but Daniel died before him.<sup>96</sup>

2) The Daniel of the *AP/G* Daniel 1–8, Arsenios 14, 17, 19, 23, 26, 29, 33–35, 39, 42–43, and Agathon 28. He is called “the Pharanite” in Daniel 7, and was a disciple of Arsenios, who died in 449.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> For editions of these texts, see *CPG* 7363 (including the *Supplement*).

<sup>92</sup> See Smith Lewis, ix–x. The text is on pp. 54–83, and an English translation on pp. 17–24.

<sup>93</sup> English: Vivian, “Witness”, 2–52, and Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools”, 182–184 (Mark the Fool). Vivian is the editor of a volume (*Witness to Holiness: Abba Daniel of Scetis*) with translations of Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Old Church Slavonic Daniel texts to be published by Cistercian Publications in Kalamazoo, Michigan. French: Regnault, *SPD anon.*, nos. 1596, 1–7, 9–10, and 1642 (see also Chapter III, part 2.3, n. 38, below). Modern Greek: Giachanatzes.

<sup>94</sup> Dahlman, “Daniel från Sketis”.

<sup>95</sup> See part 4 of this Chapter, below.

<sup>96</sup> Cassian, *Conlat.* 4.1.1–2. See Guy, “Introduction”, 56, 59–61; Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 120–122.

<sup>97</sup> See Guy, “Introduction”, 74–77, and Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 122–124, 162–164.

3) The Daniel mentioned in *AP/G Poemen* 138. Poemen died much later than Arsenios, who died in 449.<sup>98</sup>

Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira, who edited the Ethiopic vita of Daniel, believed that there are two or more Daniels, basing their statement on the fact that the Ethiopic vita of Daniel says that Daniel died on Tahsas 7 (December 16), while the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* commemorates both an Abba Daniel on Tahsas 7 and another Abba Daniel on Genbot 8 (May 16).<sup>99</sup> But the texts are similar (episodes involving Anastasia Patrikia and Eulogios the Stone-cutter) indicating that they refer to the same person.<sup>100</sup> Clugnet and van Cauwenbergh opposed the view of Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira, claiming that the fact that some Greek MSS transmit Daniel dossiers under a common title referring to Abba Daniel, and that the Coptic and Ethiopic versions form a vita of Daniel, suggests that it is the same single person.<sup>101</sup> Then, however, van Cauwenbergh claimed that Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira might be right in their suggestion that there are two or more Daniels, but for other reasons: the fact that we know of several monks named Daniel, the great diversity of places mentioned, the lack of unity among the stories and also regarding the MSS, which differ in the number of stories attributed to Daniel under a common title, and the easiness of confusion of persons in literature of this kind, in particular when there are no details of time, place or person. The only Daniel stories which place the events in a precise time, viz. the sixth century, the epoch of Emperor Justinian, are the stories of Anastasia Patrikia and Eulogios, and therefore van Cauwenbergh believed that only these with certainty referred to the sixth-century Daniel.<sup>102</sup> Against van Cauwenbergh's argumentation regarding the geographical diversity one may maintain, as Vivian does, that travel is an important motif in the stories, and descriptions of extensive travels are common in monastic literature.<sup>103</sup> Also

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<sup>98</sup> See Guy, "Introduction", 77–79.

<sup>99</sup> Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira, ix. According to the Coptic *Life*, Daniel arrived to Tambok, where he died, on Bashans 8 (May 16).

<sup>100</sup> For these and other texts mentioning an Abba Daniel in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, see part 2.12 of this Chapter, above.

<sup>101</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 56 / i; van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 24.

<sup>102</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 25–26.

<sup>103</sup> Vivian, "Witness", 7–8. See also Malamut, *Route des saintes*, and Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 150–161.

regarding the unity one may argue in favour of a common literary theme of secret holiness.<sup>104</sup>

Among the scholars who say that it is *probable* that some of the stories do not refer to the same Daniel are Evelyn White and Garitte.<sup>105</sup>

Bonnet believed that there are only eight (Greek) stories referring to the same Daniel.<sup>106</sup> As mentioned above, he rightly pointed out that Clugnet nos. 5 and 6 are actually just one story, and that nos. 1 and 11 have no connection with the Daniel of the other stories except that they are presented as *told* by an abba Daniel.<sup>107</sup> He referred to the MS Par. Coisl. 282. The Daniel dossier in this MS consists of eight stories collected under the title Κεφάλαια τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου η' ("Eight chapters of Abba of Sketis").<sup>108</sup> Bonnet believed that the *inc.* of the first story (Abba Mark the Fool) transmitted in the Daniel dossier of e.g. the MS Par. Coisl. 282 represents an earlier stage of the text than the *inc.* of the story edited by Clugnet as no. 3, and thus that this story was originally placed first in order, as is the case in the Daniel dossier of e.g. the MS Par. Coisl. 282. This is highly probable. Let us compare the *incipits* of the MS Par. Coisl. 282, the MS Par. Coisl. 283, which is the MS used by Clugnet for his story no. 3, and of story no. 2 in the present edition:

Par. Coisl. 282	Par. Coisl. 283	Story no. 2
Ἦν τις γέρων ἐν τῇ Σκήτει ὀνόματι Δανιήλ, καὶ εἶχε μαθητήν· συνώκησε δὲ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸς ...	Οὗτος ὁ μακάριος Δανιήλ ὁ Σκητιώτης εἶχεν μαθητήν· καὶ συνώκησεν τῷ τοιούτῳ μαθητῇ ἀδελφὸς ...	Τούτῳ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ συνώκησεν ἀδελφὸς ...
There was an elder in Sketis of the name of Daniel, and he had a disciple, and a brother lived with his disciple ...	This blessed Daniel of Sketis had a disciple, and a brother lived with this disciple ...	A brother lived with this disciple of his ...

<sup>104</sup> This will be discussed in the next Chapter.

<sup>105</sup> Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 241; Garitte, "Daniel de Scété", 71.

<sup>106</sup> Bonnet, "Review", 170.

<sup>107</sup> See part 2.1 of this Chapter, above.

<sup>108</sup> However, this is not the only "complete" MS, as Bonnet believed. For example, the same title and stories are also transmitted in the MS Ochrid 33 (catal. 74), pp. 352r–372r (*des. mutil.*).

Both the *incipits* of the MS Par. Coisl. 283 and of story no. 2 seem to be simplified or modified versions of the text of the MS Par. Coisl. 282. Very likely there is a practical reason for this; the text was modified since the story had not been placed first in order by the redactor.<sup>109</sup> The redactions of the eight stories in the MS Par. Coisl. 282 differ (with the exception of that of the story of a holy and chaste young woman, which is very close to no. 4A) from those edited in the present volume. The order of the stories differs as well.<sup>110</sup>

If we regard these eight stories as “the Daniel stories”, what can be said of them? They were most likely originally written in Greek. Common features seem to be: 1) the presence of an Abba Daniel, who is associated with Sketis, 2) the presence of an unnamed disciple, and 3) the theme of secret holiness. To this may be added that the events in some of the stories take place in the sixth century.

#### 4. Chronological frame of the Daniel stories

What do the stories say about Daniel’s chronology? According to the stories of Anastasia Patrikia and of Eulogios the Stone-cutter, Daniel lived in the time of and after Emperor Justinian I, who reigned 527–565. In the story of Daniel from Sketis (no. 1) Daniel visits Archbishop Timotheos, who is most likely Timotheos III, Patriarch of Alexandria ca. 517–535. In this story Daniel is said to have become a monk at Sketis already as a child, and that “at first he lived in a community for forty years; then he practised asceticism in solitude.”<sup>111</sup> In the story of Eulogios, Daniel tells his disciple that as a young man he first met Eulogios about forty years ago.<sup>112</sup> Soon thereafter Eulogios went to Constantinople, where he was appointed prefect of the praetorian guards two years before the death of Emperor Justin I, i.e. in 525. Daniel’s and the disciple’s meeting with Eulogios would thus have taken place in about 565. This story cannot have been written before the reign of Justin II (565–578), since Emperor

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<sup>109</sup> See also Commentary on 1:2 and 2:2.

<sup>110</sup> For a short description of this MS, see Chapter III, part 2, below.

<sup>111</sup> The sentence “At first he lived etc.” does not occur in the redactions of e.g. the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283. For a discussion of its derivation, see part 2.2 of this Chapter, above.

<sup>112</sup> According to the text of some MSS including the one used by Clugnet, Daniel was forty years old when he first met Eulogios. Based on that information Evelyn White (*Monasteries*, 241) estimates that Daniel was born in 485; see Commentary on 6:67.

Justin I (reigning 518–527) is called “the Elder” in a passage.<sup>113</sup> In the story of Anastasia Patrikia, Daniel tells his disciple that Anastasia became a solitary eunuch in the desert of Sketis near him twenty-eight years earlier, after the death of Empress Theodora in 548. Thus Daniel would still have been alive in the year 576. According to the Coptic *Life of Abba Daniel*, he flees from the persecution of Emperor Justinian I to Tambok. After the death of the emperor in 565 he returns to Sketis. When the barbarians attack Sketis, he again flees to Tambok, where he dies. This attack may refer to the big devastation of Sketis around 570–580. Thus we may merely state that he was born at the end of the fifth or at the beginning of the sixth century, and died after 576.

The story of Andronikos and Athanasia differs in some respects from the other stories.<sup>114</sup> There is also some doubt about the time in which it takes place and accordingly which Daniel the story refers to. In the redaction edited in this volume, there is no explicit mention of the time when the events are supposed to take place, but as noted by Clugnet,<sup>115</sup> a Latin translation by Lipomanus in 1556 begins with the words “In diebus Theodosii Magni imperatoris erat in magna urbe Antiochia ...” (“In the days of Emperor Theodosios the Great there was in the great city of Antiochia ...”).<sup>116</sup> Lipomanus published Latin translations of the Lives of the saints in menological<sup>117</sup> order (assigning the *Vita S. Andronici et ejus conjugis* to October 9) from Greek MSS, which he thought transmitted the original *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes.<sup>118</sup> But some of the MSS which he used were premetaphrastic; for example, he used the MS Vienna, hist. gr. 3 (olim 11).<sup>119</sup> This MS transmits this story (in ff. 261v–264v)<sup>120</sup> under the title Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῶν ἁγίων Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Ἀθανασίας.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>113</sup> See Commentary on 6:107.

<sup>114</sup> See Chapter II, part 6, below.

<sup>115</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 76, n. 2 / xxi, n. 2, and *ROC* 6, 83–84, n. 3 / xxviii–xxix, n. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Lipomanus, *Sanctorum*, 5, ff. 605–607.

<sup>117</sup> A menologion is a collection of texts on saints for the fixed church year arranged chronologically according to feast days.

<sup>118</sup> Lipomanus’ Latin translation of this story was first reprinted by Surius, who placed the commemoration on February 27, and in 1864 by Migne in PG 115, coll. 1049–1054, a volume containing a part of the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, and placing the commemoration on October 9.

<sup>119</sup> Delehay, “Les Ménologes grecs”, 313.

<sup>120</sup> Delehay, “Review”, 96, incorrectly writes fol. 11.

<sup>121</sup> See Hunger, *Katalog*, 4.



The MS Vatic. Ottobon. 92 transmits the story in ff. 299–302v.<sup>122</sup> This MS is a *descriptus* of the former MS, and they contain a menologion for February, which places the story on February 27.<sup>123</sup>

According to the catalogues of these two MSS the *inc.* is Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως (“In the days of Emperor Theodosios the Great”). Theodosios I was emperor of the eastern Roman empire 379–395. If we consider this statement as a part of the story, this Daniel cannot be the same as in the other seven stories, which take place in the sixth century.

The Bollandists published the text of Andronikos and Athanasia which had been printed in the *Menaion* in 1595 in Venice.<sup>124</sup> This text does not have the above-mentioned *inc.*, but in the preceding commentary the Bollandists identify Daniel with the fourth-century Daniel mentioned by Cassian.<sup>125</sup> They calculated the deaths of Andronikos and Athanasia to have occurred between 415 and 431.<sup>126</sup> Clugnet published this text as his no. 10C, but he rejected the chronology proposed by the Bollandists.<sup>127</sup> Clugnet was not aware of the MSS mentioned above; he believed that the Latin translator Lipomanus added the first words to establish the time when he believed Daniel was living. He also pointed out that the words are missing in the old translations into Syriac and Arabic. Clugnet’s view was questioned by Delehaye and van Cauwenbergh.<sup>128</sup> I have not seen these MSS, but judging from the Latin translation the text is not a metaphrastic redaction but close to the redaction of e.g. the MS Par. Coisl. 126 (*BHG* 120). There is a possibility that the *inc.* Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις κ.τ.λ. is original, and that it was omitted in later redactions. However, the story must early on have been associated with other stories of the sixth-century Daniel. At least one Syriac MS transmitting the story, together with other Daniel stories, dates from the ninth century.<sup>129</sup> Regarding the contents, Evelyn White observed: “The details of the story are inconsistent with the earlier date, and point to the VI century. Such are

<sup>122</sup> According to *Cat. hag. gr. Vat.*, 260, no. 32, the title of the story is Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῶν ἁγίων Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτῆς Ἀθανασίας.

<sup>123</sup> Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1, 570–573; Delehaye, “Review”, 96; idem, “*De martyribus Palestinae*”, 118–119. For more on these MSS, see *Cat. hag. gr. Germ.*, 38–42; Hunger, *Katalog*, 2–4; *Cat. hag. gr. Vat.*, 257–260.

<sup>124</sup> AASS, Octobris, 4, [Oct. 9], 998–1000.

<sup>125</sup> I.e. Daniel no. 1 on the list in part 3 of this Chapter, above.

<sup>126</sup> AASS, Octobris, 4, [Oct. 9], 997–998.

<sup>127</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 76, n. 2 / xxi, n. 2, and *ROC* 6, 83–84, n. 3 / xxviii–xxix, n. 3.

<sup>128</sup> Delehaye, “Review”, 96; van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d’Égypte*, 20.

<sup>129</sup> The MS London, Add. 14.649 according to Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 86 / xxxi.



the visits of Syrians to Egypt (common in the VI century), the reference to the laurae of Scetis, the importance of Oktokaidekaton near Alexandria, and the general topography.”<sup>130</sup> To this I would like to add the great similarities with the other stories: the theme of secret holiness and the role of Daniel.<sup>131</sup>

## 5. The Daniel stories and history

The question of historicity has concerned most scholars who have studied the Daniel texts. As when dealing with much other hagiographical writings, the main concern of some of the earlier scholars has been to discern the historical truth in the Daniel stories, and thus to write Daniel’s biography.<sup>132</sup> Other scholars cautiously speak of the lack of historical value, although some recognise the value of the stories concerning the Egyptian monastic milieu or mentality. Garitte states: “Les ‘récits de Daniel’ ont tous les caractères des fables édifiantes; [...] il est impossible de dire s’ils contiennent quelque élément historique.”<sup>133</sup> Chitty believes that “there is, however, strong reason to doubt the historical veracity of several of the stories, though the picture they give of the life in Egypt and the Egyptian deserts at this time seems firsthand and reliable”.<sup>134</sup> Wipszycka claims that the Daniel stories “n’ont pas de valeur pour l’histoire du monachisme en tel lieu particulier et à telle époque précise, bien qu’ils puissent naturellement être intéressants pour l’histoire de la mentalité monastique”.<sup>135</sup> A scholar who recognises the existence of an Abba Daniel is Orlandi: “The historical information to be drawn from these episodes is exclusively of a chronological and confessional nature, enabling us to date his life to the first half of the sixth century and to conclude that he was one of the prominent figures in anti-Chalcedonian Egyptian monasticism. Nothing can be assumed about the actual events of his life.”<sup>136</sup> That some of the figures may have existed is also maintained by Brock & Ashbrook Harvey: “For the most part these narratives take the form of uplifting tales, and their historical value is probably minimal, although it is likely that at least some of the persons who feature in them existed

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<sup>130</sup> Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 245, n. 3.

<sup>131</sup> See further Chapter II, part 6, below.

<sup>132</sup> The most obvious example is Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 241–251.

<sup>133</sup> Garitte, “Daniel de Scété”, 71.

<sup>134</sup> Chitty, *The Desert a City*, 146.

<sup>135</sup> Wipszycka, “Monachisme égyptien”, 320–321.

<sup>136</sup> Orlandi, “Daniel of Scetis”, 3, 692.

in the flesh.”<sup>137</sup> Vivian, who has published the most recent studies of the Daniel texts,<sup>138</sup> goes even further claiming that he is “more optimistic about the historical value of these stories and the historicity of at least some of the characters and events”.<sup>139</sup> He seems to recognise the existence of Daniel, the disciple, Anastasia, Eulogios and Mark though admitting that “the modern difficulty—perhaps impossibility—lies in the effort to distinguish the historical person from hagiographical overlay (or inlay)”.<sup>140</sup> He believes that geographical and other concrete details in the Daniel stories together with vividness of narration seem to support the attestation of a credible eyewitness report by the disciple.<sup>141</sup>

The stories, including those which give implicit dates, consist mostly of hagiographical *topoi*, and they should not be regarded as factual chronicles. It is, however, true that they are historically interesting, but that is primarily due to the information they provide on daily life; valuable details are given concerning clothing, diet, ceremonies, customs, ecclesiastical and civil administration etc. Garitte points out that some stories (in particular the stories of Mark the Fool and the one of the blind man) seem to belong to the folklore of Alexandria rather than to that of Sketis.<sup>142</sup> Indeed, Alexandria and its surroundings are often mentioned in the stories and the author seems to be well informed concerning the city.<sup>143</sup> For example, one may note such geographical details as the public bath called Hippos, the Great Tetrapylon, the main street (ἡ μέση), and the church of St Mark Outside-the-City.<sup>144</sup>

The stories associated with Daniel of Sketis, as well as those attributed to Anastasios the Sinaite, are much longer and more substantial than most of the early stories found, for example in *PratSpir*. They seem to be literary compositions, written in a literary tradition. But an oral tradition may have lived

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<sup>137</sup> Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 142.

<sup>138</sup> Vivian, “Abba Daniel”, 94–103, is a short article published in 2001. Vivian, “Witness”, 2–52, is a longer version, published in 2003, which includes translations of eight of the eleven Greek texts published by Clugnet. Similar revised versions of parts of the text (without the translations) are “Figures” (2003), 69–105 (Daniel is treated on pp. 90–102), and the almost identical version from 2005: “Figures” (2005), 117–151 (Daniel is treated on pp. 140–151). For Vivian’s forthcoming volume, see part 2.13, n. 93, of this Chapter, above.

<sup>139</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 6.

<sup>140</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 12.

<sup>141</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 12–13.

<sup>142</sup> Garitte, “Daniel de Scété”, 71.

<sup>143</sup> Alexandria is mentioned in all stories except in no. 6.

<sup>144</sup> See Commentary on 2:14–15, 24, 63–64, and 3:13.

alongside and the stories may have undergone changes due to oral transmission. We should be careful in regarding the differences between various redactions as a question of literary dependence on a first and original redaction.

Modern scholars have emphasized the close connection between hagiography and history. Within the monastic culture the writing of hagiography was a way of preserving the memory of the departed holy men and their loyal disciples. This was important for the maintenance of authority in the monastic communities.<sup>145</sup> Truthfulness expressed by, for example, the placing of events in historical times was important, but, as stated by Rapp, hagiographical works “do not make a distinction between truth and verisimilitude or like-truth. Their *raison d'être* is not the accurate representation of historical events, but the direct involvement of the audience in the narrative.”<sup>146</sup> Vivian states about the Daniel stories: “The narrator’s interest does not lie in reporting facts per se but in getting at the spiritual truths that, for him, underlie the events he is recording.”<sup>147</sup>

According to Rapp, hagiographers use the word *diegesis* denoting a way of storytelling, which is characterized by “its simple and unadorned style and its intrinsic truth-value”.<sup>148</sup> Brevity of content, simplicity of style and attention to detail were supposed to make the audience focus on the content of the story, and to support the trustworthiness of the account. Rapp describes what she calls the process of “spiritual communication”, which “joins the author and his audience in their participation in the sanctity of the holy man or woman”.<sup>149</sup> The hagiographer of a *diegesis*, often being a disciple of the holy man who is portrayed, presents himself as an eyewitness to the way of life of the holy man, or as a listener to reports on him, sometimes even as someone who has shared his life. In this way the hagiographer has been touched and benefited from the saint, thus taking the role of an ideal witness to sanctity, and hence is a model for the audience of his text.<sup>150</sup>

Some MSS give Daniel stories under titles such as Διηγλήματα ψυχωφελῆ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου (“Spiritually beneficial stories of Abba

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<sup>145</sup> See e.g. Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 68–76.

<sup>146</sup> Rapp, “Storytelling”, 443–444.

<sup>147</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 15.

<sup>148</sup> Rapp, “Storytelling”, 437.

<sup>149</sup> Rapp, “Storytelling”, 432.

<sup>150</sup> Rapp, “Storytelling”, 440–441.

Daniel of Sketis”).<sup>151</sup> There is also a redaction of the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter, *BHG* 618b, presented as narrated by Daniel.<sup>152</sup> However, none of the redactions in the present edition is referred to as a *diegesis*, or as reported by a narrator, although they have the main characteristics of *diegeseis*. In all eight stories, except one, an unnamed disciple of Daniel’s figures. Clugnet believed that the disciple wrote down the stories.<sup>153</sup> Bonnet agreed, stating that the author can be seen as an eyewitness to the events he has himself seen or the narratives he has heard.<sup>154</sup> One may imagine that the memory of Daniel, as belonging to the last generation of holy men living in Sketis before the devastation, was important to preserve for his disciple(s). But, as observed by van Cauwenbergh, this might be a device of the narrative technique, which allows the author to present the story in a credible way.<sup>155</sup> The ancient writer’s claim to be an eyewitness is a well-known *topos*. In any case, the author presents the disciple as an eyewitness to the acts of Daniel and of the other holy men and women, and as a listener to Daniel’s reports on holy men and women. But the disciple is not presented as an ideal eyewitness—he is not mentioned by name, and sometimes he is even portrayed in an unfavourable way.<sup>156</sup> This, however, may be fully intentional, pointing at the virtue of humility with which all stories seem to be permeated. The disciple wants to draw the reader’s attention away from himself and towards the virtues of Daniel and the other saints.

It has been noted that Daniel does not perform any miracles—he is not a θαυματουργός (“wonder-worker”).<sup>157</sup> However, as we shall see in the next chapter, he has other holy abilities. Let us thus turn to what, in my opinion, is more interesting than the mere question of historicity: the theme of secret holiness.

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<sup>151</sup> So, for instance, the MS Mosq. Synod. gr. 190. The MS Vat. S. Petri gr. C 149 gives a Daniel story under the title: Διήγησις ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀββᾶ Δανιὴλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου (“An account of Abba Daniel of Sketis”); see Chapter III, parts 2.1 and 2.6, below.

<sup>152</sup> See part 2, n 10, of this Chapter, above.

<sup>153</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 78 / xxiii.

<sup>154</sup> Bonnet, “Review”, 167.

<sup>155</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d’Égypte*, 26.

<sup>156</sup> See e.g. the disciple’s obstinate behaviour and unpleasant treatment of his master in 6:31–51.

<sup>157</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 78 / xxiii; Vivian, “Witness”, 26; idem, “Figures” (2005), 147.

## Chapter II. The Theme of Secret Holiness

### 1. Themes in the Daniel stories

The eight Daniel stories contain many intertwined themes and motives, in particular secret holiness, foolery, *xeniteia*, and transgressive behaviour, such as cross-dressing. Comprehensive themes in the stories are *xeniteia* and secret holiness. However, in this chapter I will primarily focus on the latter theme.

Let us first take a brief look at previous views on the overall themes of the Daniel stories.

Some scholars have pointed out that some of the Daniel stories deal with people hiding their sanctity, and that Daniel has a gift of discerning hidden sanctity. Early on Clugnet observed that Daniel has this supernatural gift to discern concealed virtues.<sup>1</sup> But he also claimed that the only thing that unites the texts is their common origin; they were all originally told by the same Daniel.<sup>2</sup> Other scholars recognising Daniel's gift of discernment have been van Cauwenbergh, Evelyn White, and Grosdidier de Matons. Van Cauwenbergh expressed Daniel's ability as a gift of reading other persons' secret thoughts: "Daniel est présenté comme doué d'une faculté extraordinaire de lire les pensées secrètes des autres."<sup>3</sup> Evelyn White claimed that "Daniel was specially famous for his gift of discernment, as shown in the case of Mark the Fool. Other instances of its use are given in the anecdotes of the nun who feigned drunkenness to conceal her devotion, and of the blind beggar who gave away the alms he received to the sick and helpless."<sup>4</sup> According to Grosdidier de Matons, three of the stories are about secret servants: Clugnet, nos. 3, 4, and 7 (nos. 2, 3, and 5 of this edition). He also states that Daniel has a special gift of *διόρασις* ("discernment").<sup>5</sup> Déroche, who distinguishes between two types of *saloi*—the passive and the active *salos*—briefly mentions that the Daniel stories are leavened with the ideal of the passive *salos*: "Tout ce cycle de Daniel est donc imprégné de cet idéal du

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<sup>1</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 72 / xvii, and 78–79 / xxiii–xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 56 / i.

<sup>3</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 244.

<sup>5</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, "Thèmes", 293.

*salos passif et souffrant, muet.*”<sup>6</sup> Krueger observes that “most of the tales contain wondrous and ironic twists, and a number tell of individuals who practiced unusual forms of asceticism which concealed their sanctity.”<sup>7</sup> In his studies Vivian does not mention that Daniel has a gift of discerning hidden sanctity, but he claims that “in the stories of Anastasia and Eulogius, Daniel appears to be holy precisely because he has the humility and discernment to see holiness *in others*”,<sup>8</sup> and that “Abba Daniel of Scetis ... was both a holy man and a witness to holiness”.<sup>9</sup>

However, no one has yet made a more detailed study on how all the (eight) stories deal with secret holiness. Two of the figures in the Daniel stories are explicitly called “secret servants of God”, but many more of them can be described in the same way. The term “secret saint” has a wider notion, which has been used to describe those persons who, as we will see, in different ways conceal their virtues and/or holy identities.

Many of the early stories about persons, who are called “secret (or hidden) servants” (κρυπτοὶ δοῦλοι), or fit the description of them, deal with what can be called “spiritual rivalry”.<sup>10</sup> The pattern followed is more or less the same: A monk prays to God asking if there exists an equally pious person as himself. God tells him (sometimes even without any question being posed) that there exists a still more righteous person. The monk is usually being sent to a less distinguished person, often a layman, whose occupation might be trivial or even disgraceful, but who performs virtues in secret (such as almsgiving and other forms of charity, or praying). The monk (and the reader) is thus given an important lesson in the greatest virtue of all—humility.<sup>11</sup> A common phrase of praise in stories of

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<sup>6</sup> Déroche, *Léontios de Néapolis*, 170.

<sup>7</sup> Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools”, 182.

<sup>8</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 27.

<sup>9</sup> Vivian, “Witness”, 5, and idem, “Figures” (2005), 141.

<sup>10</sup> For an overview of stories of secret servants, see Ivanov, “Secret Servants”, 5–17, and idem, *Holy Fools*, 43–48. For an overview of the so called “comparison stories”, see Wortley, “Spirit of Rivalry”, 383–404.

<sup>11</sup> Since, in some stories, the secret servant is a monastic figure, the moral message of the stories cannot entirely be a critique against monks feeling superior to laymen; see Ivanov, “Secret servants”, 8, and idem, *Holy Fools*, 47. For humility as the greatest virtue in the teachings of the Desert Fathers, see Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 236–260.

secret servants is (with variants): “God knows how many secret servants he has”.<sup>12</sup>

In most of these early stories, the secret servants are not aware of their holiness. In later texts they are not only aware of it, but the concealment becomes more important and the virtues become peculiar and more difficult to understand. The righteous man who discovers the existence of one who is still more righteous gradually loses his central role, becomes an auxiliary figure and sometimes turns into the saint’s confidant.<sup>13</sup> The latter is a figure well-known in the vita of a “classic” holy fool (σαλός).<sup>14</sup>

Among the stories of secret servants there are some dealing with saints who feign madness, and some that represent the stage of these saints’ transformation into holy fools. The “classic” holy fool, beginning with Symeon of Emesa in the sixth century,<sup>15</sup> is a figure, often a former monk, who pretends to be mad, acting aggressively and provocatively against the world in an urban environment. He becomes a fool for Christ’s sake (ὁ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλός) in order to serve God.<sup>16</sup>

The question of identity is important regarding the theme of secret holiness. It is much about the pretending to be something one is not. The secret saint disguises himself as another person, as a beggar (although in reality he is an alms-giver), as a fool (although in reality he is wise) etc. There are also stories of monks who in disguise visit actresses or prostitutes, whom they convert. The monk is usually the central figure, the secret saint. Then, in later stories, the focus gradually shifts, and the repenting harlot becomes the main figure.<sup>17</sup>

Another popular figure in hagiography is the female cross-dresser, a woman disguised as a man.<sup>18</sup> Besides the theme of disguising, there are other connections

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. 3:18–19, and 5:106–107. For further examples, see those collected by Festugière in his *Commentary on VIoEl* 23, lines 91–92 (p. 588). Cf. also the *Commentary on VSymSal* 133. 21 ss. by Festugière (pp. 175–176).

<sup>13</sup> See Ivanov, “Secret Servants”, 14, and idem, *Holy Fools*, 48.

<sup>14</sup> I use the term as applied by Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 104ff. He recognises the first such figure to be Symeon of Emesa.

<sup>15</sup> His vita was written by Leontios of Neapolis in the seventh century (*VSymSal*).

<sup>16</sup> The literature on holy fools is abundant. For lists of works on holy foolery in Byzantium and Russia, see Déroche, *Léontios de Néapolis*, 154–155, n. 1–3. After Déroche’s book several more works have been published. Some of those, which I have consulted, are Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, and Ivanov, *Holy Fools*.

<sup>17</sup> Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 72–80.

<sup>18</sup> For a brief history of scholarship on holy cross-dressing, see Conostas, “Life of St. Mary/Marinos”, 3–4, and Davis, “Crossed Texts, Crossed Sex”, 5–11. A recent study on



between holy cross-dressing and other forms of secret holiness, especially holy foolery. Both the cross-dresser and the holy fool question and transgress boundaries, in particular those of gender and sense. In both the cross-dresser and the holy fool there seems to be an ambition to abolish the difference between male and female.<sup>19</sup> The female cross-dresser's body is transformed, not only physically, but also spiritually, when its female nature is suppressed, and she acquires a new "sublime body".<sup>20</sup> As for the holy fool, there seems to be a similar point in the episode in *VSymSal* 148.26–149.16, where Symeon makes a scandal by walking naked into a women's bath-house, although the real topic there is the virtue of ἀπάθεια ("impassivity"). When Symeon's companion asks why he did it, he answers: "Believe me, my child, I then was just as a log among logs. For I did not feel that I had a body, nor that I had entered among bodies, but all my mind was aimed at God's work, and I did not deviate from it."<sup>21</sup> Another similarity is the provocative behaviour, which in the case of the cross-dressers is mainly aimed at themselves.<sup>22</sup> A female cross-dresser in a male monastery, as well as the holy fool, would be tempted and tested, but protected by her/his acquired *apatheia*.<sup>23</sup>

There are also connections between holy foolery, cross-dressing and ξενιτεία (approximately "expatriation" or "a living as a foreigner"). An important part of the concept of *xeniteia* was the belief that every man is a stranger on this earth, and that life is a constant wandering towards heaven. To follow Christ (and to

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female sanctity in Byzantine Passions and Lives is Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*. Cross-dressers are treated on pp. 90–126. However, neither Athanasia (in story no. 7) nor Anastasia Patrikia (in story no. 8) are treated in this work.

<sup>19</sup> Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 195. This has thoroughly been discussed by e.g. Aspegren, *The Male Woman*. Cf. also Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 1, 43–44.

<sup>21</sup> Another possible translation is: "... I did not deviate from Him." *VSymSal* 149.13–16: πίστευσον, τέκνον, ὥσπερ ξύλον μετὰ ξύλων, οὕτως κἀγὼ ἤμην τότε. οὔτε γὰρ ὅτι σῶμα ἐφόρουν οὐδὲ ὅτι εἰς σώματα εἰσῆλθον αἰσθανόμεν, ἀλλ' ὅλος μου ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ ἦν καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπέστην. See Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 115–116.

<sup>22</sup> Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 63.

<sup>23</sup> See Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 63–64, who refers to *Life of Matrona of Perge*. Matrona is living disguised as a monk in a monastery. When she is revealed, she is asked *how* she offered the kiss of peace to the brothers. She answers (*VMatronae* 7): οὐκ ἔφευγον· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ στόματι, ἀλλ' ἀγγέλοις Θεοῦ καὶ ἀπαθέσιν ἀνθρώποις οἴομην προσάγειν ἑμαυτήν ("I have not shunned it, for I considered that I offered myself not unto human mouths, but unto God's angels and men free of passion", tr. by Featherstone, "Life of St. Matrona of Perge", 26). That women could feel sexual temptation is suggested in story no. 5:34–35.



pursue *imitatio Christi*) one had to leave one's home and family. In Egypt, this was most obviously manifested by the physical withdrawal into the desert. Life in *xeniteia* was also seen as a spiritual pilgrimage, an internal exile, a life in solitude and silence in a cell withdrawn from the world. The travelling to holy places sometimes led to an expanded itinerary, and men and women began to travel continuously as a way of ascetic life. These wandering ascetics earned their living as beggars.<sup>24</sup> A modern example is the well-known Russian saint Xenia of St Petersburg, who lived in the 18th century. She was both a wandering holy fool and a cross-dresser.<sup>25</sup>

A connection between the holy cross-dresser and the "secret servant of God" may be seen in the fact that at least two cross-dressers (Pelagia and Apollinaria) were called "secret saints" in their Lives.<sup>26</sup> See *VPelag* 49: δόξα σοι, ὁ θεός, ὅτι πολλοὺς ἔχεις ἁγίους κρυπτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("Glory to You, God, who have many secret saints on earth"), and *VApollin* 160: δόξα σοι, Χριστέ, ὁ πολλοὺς ἁγίους κρυπτοὺς ἔχων ("Glory to You, Christ, who have many secret saints").

Now, let us turn to the Daniel stories.

## 2. Two secret servants of God

One of the two stories whose main characters are called "secret servants" is the story of the blind man (no. 3):

In Alexandria, Daniel and his disciple encounter a blind beggar. Daniel reveals to his disciple that the blind man is "a person of great eminence". Daniel begs him for a gift of alms, and he gives Daniel food and money, whereupon Daniel says: "Look, how many secret servants God has! As surely as the Lord lives, I will never dismiss any blessing of the elder, for this is love." Then a sick person is told by the apostle Mark to send for the blind man to heal him. This done, it becomes known to the city, and the patriarch wants to see him, but he is found dead. He is given a grand funeral. In the end we are told that he used to distribute, by somebody else's hand, the charity he received to the sick in the hospitals.

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<sup>24</sup> For the the concept of *xeniteia*, see Guillaumont, "Le dépaysement", 89–116. For the phenomenon of wandering monks, see Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, and, especially on wandering women, Elm, 'Virgins of God', 276–282, 321–324.

<sup>25</sup> See Bodin, "Om Ksenia", 38–46.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ivanov, "Secret Servants", 12, n.7.

## *The Theme of Secret Holiness*

The blind man is a typical secret servant. He is an alms-giver in disguise. His holiness makes him able to heal sickness. Daniel discerns his true identity as a secret servant, and reveals it to his disciple. When his holiness has become known (through the apostle!) to the public, he dies.

The other story about a “secret servant” is one of the two stories dealing with saints who feign madness: the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard (no. 5):<sup>27</sup>

Daniel comes with his disciple to the Upper Thebaid and is received with extremely great honour by five thousand monks, who were “lying face down on the sand like angels receiving Christ with fear”. They sit down on the sand and he teaches them the two virtues necessary for the monastic life: poverty and silence. Then Daniel and his disciple leave. They come to a women’s monastery in Hermopolis, where Daniel, after some confusion, is received in great honour. They are allowed to spend the night in the monastery. One of the sisters is sleeping in the courtyard—a drunkard, Daniel is told. He orders water to be splashed over her, and she gets up “as from drunkenness”. When they are going to rest, Daniel and his disciple go to see where she sleeps: by the privy. Hiding themselves they see her praying, weeping, and prostrating herself all night. When a sister comes, she pretends to sleep. Daniel brings the *hegumene*, who watches her and says: “Oh, all the wicked things I have done to her!” Then a rumour of her is spread, and she flees leaving a note begging of forgiveness. When, in the morning, she is not found, there is a great lamentation, and Daniel says: “It was for the sake of her that I came here, for God loves such drunkards.” The sisters confess to Daniel their sins against her. Daniel and his disciple leave praising “God, who alone knows how many secret servants he has”.

The second part of the story, which takes place in the women’s monastery, bears a striking resemblance to that of the woman who feigned madness in *HL* 34, which was written by Palladios about 420. In the monastery of the Tabennesiotes there was a virgin who feigned madness. She was despised by everybody, and she worked in the kitchen. Although she was reviled by all, she was always silent and never angry. An angel told Piteroum to see someone who was more holy than he was: “She has never taken her heart off God.” He went to the women’s monastery, but he did not see her among the assembled sisters. When he insisted to see them all, they told him of this mad woman (σαλή). She was brought out

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<sup>27</sup> In the Syriac version published by Nau, the woman is simulating madness, not drunkenness. There is reason to believe that the designation of her as “mad” is the original reading; see Commentary on 5:55.

from the kitchen by force. He prostrated himself before her, proclaiming her “my amma and yours.” The sisters confessed to him the misdeeds they had committed against her. Since the woman could not endure their praise, she left.

The woman in *HL* 34 (hereafter called “the mad woman”) has been called the first holy fool by many scholars,<sup>28</sup> but, as Ivanov rightly points out, she is no holy fool in the traditional sense.<sup>29</sup> The origin of the word σαλός (in *HL* 34:5) is uncertain. It has been suggested that it derives from the Syriac word *sakla*, which is the Syriac translation of the Greek word μωρός (“fool”) in 1 Cor. 3:18 and 4:10, but this is not very likely.<sup>30</sup> Palladios adds an explanation of the meaning of the word: οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τὰς πασχούσας (“this is what they call those who are afflicted”), which indicates that the word at that time had not become a technical term for a holy fool.

It has been claimed that the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard is an obvious duplicate of the story in *HL* 34.<sup>31</sup> It has a similar plot, and in the Syriac version published by Nau the location is the same: a women’s monastery of the Tabennesiotes.<sup>32</sup> Also, in the Syriac version the woman of story no. 5 (hereafter called “the drunken woman”) is simulating madness,<sup>33</sup> not drunkenness. Both are maltreated without complaining about it. They are silent and we do not even know their names. In both cases the performances of secret virtues are the main characteristics, not aggression and provocation against the world as in the case of the “classic” holy fools. The mad woman is said “never to have taken her heart off God”. Her virtue seems to be that she lives a humble life, serving the other sisters and God. The drunken woman prays in secret. This is a virtue which is known to be performed also by others who fit the description of secret servants.<sup>34</sup> Her behaviour can be seen as a kind of reaction or criticism of the sisters’ all too perfect lives. The sisters are depicted as very reverential and pious in their relation to Daniel. It almost seems that their imperfection consists in

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<sup>28</sup> See e.g. Spidlik, “Fous pour le Christ”, 757, Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 283–285, and Rydén, “The Holy Fool”, 106. For further discussions on this so called “Cinderella of Egypt”, see e.g. Bousset, “Der verborgene Heilige”, 1–17, Vogt, “Moniale folle”, 177–192, and Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 1, 32–39.

<sup>29</sup> Ivanov, “Secret Servants”, 10; idem, *Holy Fools*, 52.

<sup>30</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 279 n. 7, and Rydén, “The Holy Fool”, 107 (with n. 4).

<sup>31</sup> Déroche, *Léontios de Néapolis*, 170, n. 41. Cf. Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 287–288.

<sup>32</sup> Nau, *ROC* 5, 391 / 69.

<sup>33</sup> There is reason to believe that this was the original reading, see Commentary on 5:55.

<sup>34</sup> Two examples are found in the Syriac writings of John of Ephesos: the story of Theophilos and Mary in *VSSOrient* 52 (PO 19, 164–179) and the story of Priskos in *VSSOrient* 53 (PO 19, 179–185).

their being somewhat sanctimonious and too willing to follow the rules.<sup>35</sup> Daniel wishes to show the sisters what a true pious life is about: to serve God in secret. Both the mad and the drunken woman practise complete withdrawal (living in *xeniteia*) by humbling themselves. They are exposed by honoured abbas, and since they cannot endure the honours, they flee. Thus they seem thereafter to practise a new form of withdrawal as wandering ascetics.<sup>36</sup>

One important difference between the two of them, however, is that the drunken woman's behaviour is more provocative. She is lying in the courtyard and impossible to ignore, and she is said to "offend the sisters" (lines 57–58). Thus the story contains the first signs of the "classic" holy fool's aggressive and provocative behaviour towards the surrounding people.<sup>37</sup> The mad woman does nothing to provoke the others, she has withdrawn to the kitchen,<sup>38</sup> and, as Ivanov puts it, "merely *allows* others to think badly about her, she does not pretend anything, but only shows humility".<sup>39</sup> Another difference is that the story of the mad woman has an element of spiritual competitiveness, which is common in the early stories about secret servants.<sup>40</sup> There is no explicitly mentioned supernatural element in Daniel's revealing of the drunken woman.<sup>41</sup> No angel tells Daniel of her sanctity. He alone discerns her true identity as a secret servant of God.

In later versions of the story of the mad woman, the development of aggressive tendencies is evident. Already in the Latin version she has a name: Isidora. And in later Oriental versions, where she is called Onesima, she eventually turns into a holy fool. She rips the sisters' clothes, shouts, and fights. In the Ethiopic version, the abba who comes to the monastery and reveals her is called Daniel. In some versions she even becomes a cross-dresser. After leaving the women's monastery, she becomes the head of a male community of hermits,

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 58.

<sup>36</sup> For more on wandering women, see Elm, '*Virgins of God*', 276–282, 321–324.

<sup>37</sup> Ivanov, "Secret Servants", 11, and idem, *Holy Fools*, 58–59.

<sup>38</sup> Grosdidier de Matons ("Thèmes", 287) claims that the drunken woman, too, has withdrawn to a trivial place: the toilet. However, she stays there only at nights. In the daytime she sleeps in the courtyard visible to everybody.

<sup>39</sup> Ivanov, "Secret Servants", 10. Cf. Krueger (*Symeon the Holy Fool*, 58): "Despite Palladius's initial statement that she feigned madness, there is little to suggest that she was not, in fact, mad."

<sup>40</sup> See part 1 of this Chapter, above.

<sup>41</sup> Grosdidier de Matons ("Thèmes", 288) thinks that this is the main difference between the stories.

wearing male dress.<sup>42</sup> Here, too, there is a connection to the story of the drunken woman: when she is about to leave the monastery, she steals Daniel's staff and cowl to disguise herself, perhaps to become a wandering cross-dresser.

### 3. Mark, a holy fool

Yet another story of feigning madness is the one of Abba Mark the Fool (no. 2):

Daniel and his disciple come to Alexandria, where they see a brother who wears nothing but a loincloth, and who pretends to be a fool. He snatches away things in the market and gives them to the other fools. He works at the Hippos, a public bath, earning a great deal of money, of which he gives away the most part to the other fools. The next day, Daniel finds Mark in the city and runs up and grabs him. He screams for help, while the fool mocks him. The people of the city say to him: "Do not take offence! He is a fool." The elder says to them: "It is you who are the fools, for today I have not found a single man in this city other than this one." Some clergy arrive and, on the order of Daniel, take the fool to the pope. Daniel says to the pope: "Today in this city there is no such vessel." The pope knows that Daniel's knowledge is from God and throws himself at the fool's feet. Mark tells his story: He was a monk possessed by the demon of fornication for fifteen years. To serve Christ, he went and stayed at Pempton for eight years. Then, to repent his sins, he went to the city to make himself a fool for another eight years. Today the eight years were fulfilled. The next day Mark is found dead. He is given a magnificent funeral.

Mark can be called a precursor to the line of "classic" holy fools beginning with Symeon of Emesa. In the story, Mark is called a "fool" (σαλός),<sup>43</sup> not a "secret servant" (κρυπτὸς δοῦλος), but his behaviour is more like a secret servant's.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ivanov, "Secret Servants", 11–12, and idem, *Holy Fools*, 59–62.

<sup>43</sup> The word *salos* is in the story used in the original meaning of "an imbecile". As an epithet to the name of Mark, the term is used technically of "a holy fool"; see Commentary on 2:tit. In 3:36–37 Mark is called a "fool for God's sake" (διὰ Θεὸν σαλοῦ). Cf. Symeon, who is called a "fool for Christ's sake" in *VSymSal* 121.tit (διὰ Χριστὸν ἐπονομασθέντος Σαλοῦ), and 155.25–156.1 (μωρίαν διὰ Χριστόν).

<sup>44</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, "Thèmes", 288, calls Mark "un véritable *salos*", but then on p. 293, he categorizes him as a secret servant, together with the blind man (no. 3) and the drunken woman (no. 5). Déroche, *Léontios de Néapolis*, 170, categorizes him as a "*salos passif*". For the following comparison between Mark, the drunken woman, and Symeon of Emesa, see Grosdidier de Matons, "Thèmes", 287–293, Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 59–60, Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 306–310, and Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 98–100.

To be sure, his behaviour is more aggressive and provocative than the drunken woman's (in story no. 5)—he steals things in the marketplace and he works in a bathhouse wearing only a loincloth—and, unlike the drunken woman, he acts openly in the city, but he shows less aggression against the world than the “classic” holy fool. Symeon, among other things, drags a dead dog along the streets, defecates in public, is seen with prostitutes, and disrupts church services by throwing nuts. Mark, in contrast, does not start mocking Daniel in the general manner of a holy fool until Daniel grabs him. Neither the drunken woman nor Mark strive to attract public attention and raise a scandal. An important feature that Mark shares with many secret servants is the almsgiving (although he gives openly in daylight); the things he steals in the market, he gives to the fools who are with him, and he gives away most of the money he earns by his work. Another link between story no. 5 and this one is their resemblance with the story of the mad woman in *HL* 34. As we have seen, story no. 5 seems to be modelled on the story in *HL* 34. There is much less resemblance between the story of Mark and the one of the mad woman, but the dialogue between the people and Daniel (2:27–30) is similar to the dialogue in *HL* 34:6.<sup>45</sup> Certeau compares the two stories discussing especially the role of the body. The simulated madness has as its signs, in the case of the mad woman, her disappearance, and in the case of Mark, his laughter and death.<sup>46</sup>

An important difference between Mark and Symeon is the motivation for the insane behaviour. While both originally come from the desert and move to the city, Mark is a failed monk and therefore decides to become a repentant *salos*. He has not been able to achieve virtue in the desert, and goes to the city to make penance in order to save himself. Symeon achieves self-perfection in the desert as a monk and goes to the city to save other persons.<sup>47</sup>

According to Grosdidier de Matons and Ivanov there is only one additional example of this motif of the repenting *salos* in the Orient.<sup>48</sup> They refer to the

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<sup>45</sup> See Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 287–289, and Déroche, *Léontios de Néapolis*, 170, n. 41. See also Commentary on 2:27–30.

<sup>46</sup> Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 1, 44–47. The comparison of the two stories comprises the pp. 39–48.

<sup>47</sup> Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 59–60; Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 308–309; Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 98.

<sup>48</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 289, 302, n. 67; Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 177. However, Ivanov (*Holy Fools*, 380–383) states that the Western perception of holy foolery was different. One example is the legend of Robert le Diable. Robert was advised to feign madness to redeem his sins. See also Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 289, n. 39.

*Life of Symeon the New Theologian* written by Niketas Stethatos in the eleventh century in which there is an account of a bishop named Hierotheos, who repents a killing by acting as a *salos*. Hierotheos was a Western immigrant to Constantinople, and is recognised as the first holy fool from the West.<sup>49</sup> However, it should be noted that the motif of the repenting *secret saint* is not that unusual. Mark shares it with Daniel himself (in story no. 1). It is also found in the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter (no. 6).

#### 4. Eulogios, a repenting secret saint

The story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter (no. 6) is, as mentioned above, about a repenting secret saint:

Daniel and his disciple come to a village where—despite the grumbling of the disciple—they stay until late evening. Then an old man comes looking for strangers. He takes Daniel and the other strangers to his house to feed and lodge them. On the way to Sketis the disciple wants to know about the old man. And Daniel, unwillingly, tells about the man, who is a stone-cutter named Eulogios. But first he forbids the disciple to tell anyone of the things he is about to hear. Eulogios started giving his hospitality forty years ago. Daniel met him and admired his remarkable work. Without Eulogios' knowledge, he prayed to God to provide him with a fortune, and in a dream Daniel was forced to stand guarantor for him. Eulogios became rich, but instead of increasing his hospitality, he went to Constantinople and was soon appointed prefect. Daniel learnt of this, and in a dream he realised that he had lost his soul. However, God released him from the guarantee, and Eulogios was involved in a revolt against the emperor and had to flee to his home village. To the people he claimed not to be the same Eulogios as the one who became a rich *patrikios*. He took up his former trade and charity-work. When Daniel again met him, he told him of his interference, and when Eulogios understood the role of Daniel and how God had humbled him, he wanted to “be put back on the right track”, thus repenting the sins he had committed.

Eulogios is living in *xeniteia*, having been forced to flee from Constantinople, from his wealth and social identity. Himself being a ξένος (“stranger”), physically as a refugee, but also spiritually in adopting a new secret and pious identity, he invites other strangers to his home. His work of hospitality is carried out at night, not in the light of day. But most importantly: the reason why

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<sup>49</sup> *VSymNT*, 72–75. See Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 302, n. 67, and Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 175–177.



Eulogios is practising this nightly hospitality is a secret to everybody else except Daniel. Eulogios is repenting the sins he has committed. Daniel is Eulogios' confidant and, among men, the two of them are the only to know what has happened and what Eulogios' true identity is. In a way Daniel is responsible for Eulogios first being raised up and then humbled by God.<sup>50</sup> Daniel reveals this secret holiness of Eulogios to his disciple, but he also, understandably, forbids him to expose Eulogios to the world to secure his continuing existence as a repentant secret saint.

## 5. Thomaïs, a holy wife

The story of a holy and chaste young woman (no. 4A and B) is about a holy wife:

Once when Daniel and his disciple are in Alexandria, it so happens that a young woman, a wife of a fisherman, is exposed to an attempted rape by her father-in-law, who is also an abba. She does not give in to him, so he kills her. When some fishermen come, they discover the deed, and hands the man, who has become blind, over to the governor, who punishes him. Then Daniel wants the body of the young woman to be buried with the fathers. Many other monks oppose him, and some say: "He allows the body of a woman to be buried with the fathers, even though she has been murdered!"<sup>51</sup> Daniel, on the contrary, says: "That woman is my amma, and yours. She died for the sake of chastity, but our fellow monk has fallen asleep because of his tribulation."<sup>52</sup> Then, one day, an abba suffering from sexual temptation asks Daniel for help. Daniel advises him to go to the tomb and pray to Thomaïs, which is the name of the chaste young woman. And the abba is cured.

This story has some similarities with the later and much longer Lives of "holy wives". According to Constantinou, the female saint's physical body is suppressed, and she acquires a new "sublime body".<sup>53</sup> The holy wife's physical

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<sup>50</sup> For the spiritual contract Daniel makes with God about Eulogios, see Commentary on 6:83.

<sup>51</sup> This sentence does not occur in 4A.

<sup>52</sup> The second part of the sentence does not occur in 4B.

<sup>53</sup> Constantinou, who studies different roles of female holiness (such as martyrs, penitents, cross-dressers, nuns, abbesses, and holy wives), stresses the importance of the body and its performances in the hagiography of female saints; see Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*.



body is exposed to male violence in private; the sublime nature of her body is manifested mainly in her afterlife through posthumous miracles.<sup>54</sup>

Thomaïs is a married young woman who is exposed to domestic violence and murdered. According to many of the monks, the mere fact that she was a woman disqualifies her from being buried with the fathers,<sup>55</sup> and furthermore, the crime she was exposed to was shameful. Daniel challenges and transgresses the moral boundaries. A murdered married woman was not supposed to be buried with the fathers. Daniel, however, discerns her holiness: she was chaste, while the abba was not. The second part of the story,<sup>56</sup> about her afterlife, is important because it shows that Daniel also knows that her virtue is still working after her death. As in the case of the story of the blind man, her holiness makes her able to cure the abba. The fact that Daniel alone is aware of her holiness makes it reasonable to call her a secret saint.

## 6. Athanasia and Anastasia, two holy cross-dressers

Two stories deal with cross-dressers, women disguised as men. One is the story of Andronikos the Money-dealer and his wife Athanasia (no. 7):

Andronikos and Athanasia are a wealthy and pious couple in Antioch. They devote themselves to almsgiving and charity work. Grieving the death of their children, Athanasia begs her husband to be put in a monastery, and they decide to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. When they arrive in Egypt, Andronikos alone goes to Sketis. There he hears of Daniel of Sketis. He meets him, and Daniel arranges for Athanasia to be put into the Monastery of the Tabennesiotes. Andronikos becomes a monk with Daniel in Sketis. Then after twelve years Andronikos is permitted to travel to the Holy Places. On his way he meets his wife, who is also travelling as a pilgrim. She is dressed as a man and is called Athanasios. Andronikos does not recognise her, although she recognises him. They travel together in silence, and then Athanasios proposes that they could live together in silence in a cell at Oktokaidekaton. Andronikos goes to obtain permission from Daniel, who says: "Go and devote yourself to silence, and live with the brother, for he is a good man." They live together for twelve years. Daniel often visits them, and once, on his way home, he is told that Athanasios is dying. When he comes back, Athanasios says to him: "I am only weeping for Abba Andronikos. But do me a favour: when you have buried me, you will find a note at my

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<sup>54</sup> Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 162–192.

<sup>55</sup> See Commentary on 4A:37–38 / 4B:40–43.

<sup>56</sup> See Commentary on 4A:43–57 / 4B:48–67.

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head. Read it and give it to Abba Andronikos.” When she is dead her true identity becomes known, and she is buried with great honour. Daniel leaves, is overtaken and told that Andronikos is dying. When he is dead, hostilities arise between the fathers concerning where Andronikos should be buried. Daniel orders him to be buried in Oktokaidekaton with Athanasia, not in Sketis. After the burial Daniel returns to Sketis.

According to Constantinou, the reasons given by hagiographers why women become cross-dressers are twofold: social and religious. Then she states that the social motives are two: escape from male control, such as a threat of marriage or a violent husband, and safe travel.<sup>57</sup> In the case of Athanasia, her primary purpose in disguising herself is social; she wishes to travel to the Holy Places. However, her disguise is not due to her wish to escape from male control.<sup>58</sup> The motif of the recognition scene is well-known in hagiography,<sup>59</sup> but here, as well as in some other texts on cross-dressers, only one part in the familial meeting recognises the other.<sup>60</sup> Further, in this story the motif of the meeting with a relative is combined with the motif of posthumous self-revelation. Athanasia’s note reveals the truth of her identity after her death.<sup>61</sup> Anson believes that the story “represents the first stage in the gradual transformation of a religious legend exemplifying worldly renunciation for love of God into a domestic fable of the devotion of chaste wives to their husbands”.<sup>62</sup> But, according to Ivanov, “this is not convincing, since the heroine of this story causes her husband obvious suffering”.<sup>63</sup> The reason why she keeps her identity hidden to her husband is not only that this makes it possible for him to be faithful to his monastic vows,<sup>64</sup> but, in my opinion, also her wish to devote herself to God and perform the virtue of silence. They are both living in *xeniteia*, having abandoned their home country and a wealthy life, being on pilgrimage in the physical sense, but also spiritually as monks—the monastic life being a withdrawal from the

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<sup>57</sup> Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 106.

<sup>58</sup> Cross-dressers who are known to have disguised themselves in the purpose of escaping from male control and travelling safely are e.g. Eusebia/Xene (*BHG* 633), Euphrosyne the Younger (*BHG* 627; a new edition of this Life is being prepared by J.O. Rosenqvist), and Matrona of Perge (*BHG* 1221).

<sup>59</sup> For the motif, see Boulhol, *Ἀναγνωρισμός*.

<sup>60</sup> See Commentary on 7:131–132.

<sup>61</sup> These motives are also found in a version of the story of the “man of God” (*BHG* 56a); see Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 80–86.

<sup>62</sup> Anson, “Female Transvestite”, 15. Anson erroneously writes Anastasia for Athanasia.

<sup>63</sup> Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 81, n. 32.

<sup>64</sup> Thus Hotchkiss, *Female Cross Dressing*, 29.

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world. Furthermore, Athanasia is giving up her sexual identity,<sup>65</sup> thus transgressing and abolishing the gender roles.

This story differs from the others in a few important ways.<sup>66</sup> Firstly, the anonymous disciple is not mentioned, although in some MSS he is mentioned in the end as one to whom Daniel has confided the story.<sup>67</sup> Consequently, there is no account of Daniel referring this episode to his disciple, nor is there a description of how they make contact with the main figures, as in some of the other stories. Secondly, Daniel himself does not have such a prominent role here as in the other stories. He is, however, mentioned as the one who puts Athanasia in a monastery, and makes Andronikos his disciple. Daniel discerns Athanasia's true identity, which is demonstrated by the fact that he approves of their living together, saying of Athanasia: "he is a good man". One may note that Athanasia wants them to live together in silence, and that Daniel tells Andronikos to devote himself to silence, one of the two virtues necessary for the monastic life according to the teaching of Daniel in the first part of story no. 5.

The other story of a holy cross-dresser is the one of Anastasia Patrikia (no. 8):

Unbeknown to everybody except Daniel and his disciple, Daniel regularly receives visits from a eunuch living in Sketis. The disciple supplies him with water every week without having any contact with him. One day he finds a written message urging them to come. They come and find the eunuch sick. Weeping, Daniel says to him: "Blessed are you who, in devoting your attention to this hour, despised an earthly kingdom of men." The eunuch says: "Blessed are you, a new Abraham, since God receives many fruits from these hands of yours!" The disciple is also blessed by the eunuch, who then says: "For the sake of the Lord, do not strip me of what I am wearing, but send me to the Lord as I am, and do not let anybody other than you two alone know about me." After receiving communion, he dies. The disciple prepares him for the burial, and while dressing him, he discovers that the body is a woman's. He says nothing, but after the burial, on their way home, he asks Daniel if he had known this. Daniel tells him about her. She was a *patrikia* at the royal court, and became the object of the passion of Emperor Justinian and the jealousy of Empress Theodora, who decided to exile her. She fled to Alexandria. At Pempton she founded a monastery, called The Patrikia's, and lived there until Theodora died. She then learnt that the emperor was

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<sup>65</sup> See Boulhol, *Ἀναγνωρισμός*, 97: "La vie monastique est aussi une ξενιτεία pour ... Athanasie ... [qui] devient étrangère à sa patrie, à sa classe sociale et finalement à son propre sexe puisqu'elle s'habille en moine."

<sup>66</sup> For the question of time, see Chapter I, part 4, above.

<sup>67</sup> See Commentary on 7:197.

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planning to send for her. This time she fled to Sketis and told Daniel everything. He installed her in a cave and she dressed herself as a man. The emperor and the whole of Alexandria searched for her in vain. She had lived in Sketis for twenty-eight years. Her name was Anastasia.

In the case of Anastasia, too, the primary purpose of her disguise is social; she wants to escape from male control, i.e. to save her chastity, a greatly honoured virtue. However, while travelling, fleeing from Constantinople, she is not disguised. When Daniel is told everything, he gives her a new secret identity as a cross-dressing anchorite, and thus he becomes her confidant. Then she can devote her entire life to God, performing virtues in secret. Daniel's praise of her and the blessings exchanged show how highly he thinks of her holiness. As in the case of Andronikos and Athanasia, she is living a life in *xeniteia*, both physically, having been forced to flee from her home country, giving up wealth and social class, and spiritually, as a solitary cross-dresser. Her true identity is revealed after her death. The story ends with a saying which, in short, expresses the view that lay people, even when rich, are in their own ways able to attain holiness. Thus the importance of humility is stressed.

Van Cauwenbergh believes that the *Life of Hilaria* may have contributed to the genesis of the story of Anastasia: "On se demande même si la légende de l'arrivée d'Anastasie, fille de Zénon, chez sa soeur Hilaria à Scété, n'a pas contribué à la formation de cette nouvelle légende."<sup>68</sup> He refers to the texts published by Amélineau in an article entitled "L'histoire des deux filles de l'empereur Zénon".<sup>69</sup> But these texts, a French translation of the commemoration of Hilaria in the Arabic *Synaxarium*, and fragments of a Coptic *Life*, do not mention the name of Hilaria's sister.<sup>70</sup> In the Coptic text published by Drescher the sister is called Theopiste.<sup>71</sup> There are, actually, a number of similarities between the texts. Hilaria is from the royal court of Constantinople. Disguised as a man she runs off to Alexandria, and then goes to Sketis. She is given a monk's habit and a cell by an abba, although he does not know her true identity. He visits her regularly. But there are also differences: the theme of a noble woman who flees and becomes a cross-dressing monk is in *VHil* combined

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<sup>68</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 26.

<sup>69</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 26, n. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Amélineau, "L'histoire", 181–206. The reason why van Cauwenbergh thinks that Hilaria's sister is called Anastasia may be because they both are mentioned in a Coptic text, which seems to confuse the stories of the saints; see below.

<sup>71</sup> *VHil*, p. 2 (Coptic text) and p. 70 (English tr.).

with the theme of the emperor's daughter (i.e. Hilaria's sister) who is possessed by a demon and then healed by the woman-monk, and the theme of the false accusation of unchastity of the woman-monk and the subsequent recognition.<sup>72</sup>

Van Cauwenbergh also suggests that the story may derive from the monastery called The Patrikia's (lines 68–69), or from the letters by the patriarch Severos of Antioch, addressed to the deaconess Anastasia.<sup>73</sup> In the Syriac version published by Nau, there is an additional text identifying Anastasia with this deaconess, who appears as the addressee of some letters written by Severos.<sup>74</sup> He was Patriarch of Antioch 512–518. Because of his opposition against Chalcedon, he was forced to flee to Egypt in 518, where he died in 538. The Syriac letters nos. 69–72 in the edition by Brooks are addressed to her.<sup>75</sup> According to Brooks they were written in exile about 522–526. There is also a letter to a woman called Georgia, whose mother was Anastasia ὑπάτισσα (“wife of a consul”). She might be identical with the deaconess Anastasia.<sup>76</sup> According to Clugnet, the Greek MSS Par. Coisl. 23, 25 and 195 contain fragments of letters of Severos addressed to an Anastasia called ὑπάτισσα or διάκονος (“deaconess”).<sup>77</sup> Clugnet believed this to be a probable identification and repeated his opinion in a later article.<sup>78</sup> Van Cauwenbergh agreed, suggesting that she might have been one of the religious who fled from Constantinople or Antioch to Alexandria with Severos in 518.<sup>79</sup> The flight of persecuted religious from Antioch to Alexandria is described by Severos of Ashmunên in his *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*.

The same identification is made by a Coptic source, which seems to confuse the story with the legend of Hilaria. The text is a Coptic panegyric intended for the feast day of the translation of the relics of the Forty-nine Martyrs of Sketis to the Church of Saint Makarios on 5 Amshir (February 12), which was published by Ricci & Winstedt.<sup>80</sup> Part of this text tells how two daughters of Emperor

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<sup>72</sup> See the study by Drescher in *VHil*, pp. 124–125. According to van Esbroeck (“Hilaria, Saint”, 4, 1231), *VHil* can be explained as a “political and religious development in a romanticized form”, i.e. a symbolic account used as a work of defence for the anti-chalcedonian movement.

<sup>73</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 26.

<sup>74</sup> Nau, *ROC* 5, 400, n. 3 / 77, n. 3. See Commentary on 8:87.

<sup>75</sup> Brooks, *Letters of Severos*.

<sup>76</sup> Brooks, *Select Letters of Severos*, X.8.

<sup>77</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 67 / xii.

<sup>78</sup> Clugnet, “Anastasie la patricienne”, 1486.

<sup>79</sup> Van Cauwenbergh, *Les Moines d'Égypte*, 14.

<sup>80</sup> Ricci & Winstedt, “Les quarante-neuf vieillards”, 323–358.

Zeno escape to Egypt: Hilaria and Anastasia, who is described as the correspondent of Patriarch Severos. Anastasia flees to Sketis, where she prays at the tomb of the Forty-nine Martyrs. A voice orders her to go to the presbyter Daniel the Younger. Abba Daniel, who is called “father of Sketis”,<sup>81</sup> gives her an anchorite’s habit, and she becomes a solitary in the desert.

However, regarding this identification I agree with the statement by Brock & Ashbrook Harvey: “this is probably no more than a piece of guesswork”.<sup>82</sup>

Another, even less plausible suggestion is that Anastasia may be identified with the wife of Pompeios. He was involved in the revolt against Emperor Justinian and was executed in 532. He is mentioned in the story of Eulogios.<sup>83</sup> Pompeios and his wife Anastasia were keen Chalcedonians, and she often visited Sabas when he was in Constantinople 511–512. After the execution of her husband she devoted herself to a monastic life on the Mount of Olives, where Cyril of Scythopolis met her in ca. 554. She provided him with information for his *Life of Sabas*.<sup>84</sup> Clugnet rejected this identification for chronological and theological reasons. The Anastasia of the Daniel story would be too young to be the wife of Pompeios and would probably not be a Chalcedonian.<sup>85</sup> Chitty took a different view and seems to have acknowledged the identification.<sup>86</sup>

## 7. Daniel, a secret saint and a discerner of hidden sanctity

Finally, let us turn to the story where Daniel himself is the main character; the story of Abba Daniel from Sketis (no. 1):

Daniel is a monk in Sketis. One day he is taken prisoner by barbarians. After two years he is rescued. Again he is taken prisoner and escapes from them. The third time he is taken prisoner, he is badly treated but kills one of the foreigners and manages to flee. Repenting the killing he visits the patriarchs of Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, Ephesos, Jerusalem, and Antioch, who all say the same thing to him: “You did not commit murder; you killed a wild beast.” Back in Alexandria, he gives himself up to the governor’s officials and is put in prison. When the governor questions him, he is amazed at his conscientiousness and

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<sup>81</sup> For the title “father of Sketis”, see Commentary on 2:7.

<sup>82</sup> Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 143. On this Anastasia, see *PLRE*, 2, 76, s.v. 2.

<sup>83</sup> See Commentary on 6:185.

<sup>84</sup> See *PLRE*, 2, 76–77, s.v. Anastasia 3.

<sup>85</sup> Clugnet, *ROC* 6, 67–68 / xii–xiii.

<sup>86</sup> Chitty, *The Desert a City*, 147.

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releases him. Daniel, however, swears to Christ that he will dedicate the rest of his life to the caring of a leper on account of the murder he committed. Although everybody in Sketis knows of the leper, nobody is allowed to see his face. Then, one day, his disciple happens to see how Daniel cares for the leper, who is completely purulent. Daniel feeds him, wipes off the food and puts it into his mouth. The disciple praises God “for giving such patience to the elder to care for the leper in such a way”.

Daniel is repenting the sins he has committed. As an act of penitence, he takes care of a leper.<sup>87</sup> The appearance of the leper and the details of Daniel’s patient care for him is a secret to everybody. They are revealed to the disciple by accident. Daniel, who in secret performs the virtues of charity and patience, is a repenting secret saint.

Daniel, as well as the other secret saints in these stories, lives a life, the virtues of which call for imitation, just as in the example set by Christ. Jesus wanted to conceal his identity, forbidding the disciples to reveal who he was (Matt. 16:20) and also forbidding those who witnessed his miracles to tell others (Mark 1:44). In the Sermon on the Mount, he speaks of the importance to perform good deeds secretly; to give alms and pray in secret (Matt. 6:1–6). Daniel has the gift of discerning other persons’ hidden sanctity, and he is also himself a secret saint, concealing his own charitable deeds and patience. Another thing that points at Daniel as an *imago Christi* is the description of Daniel in the first part of story no. 5. He is given an extremely honourable reception by five thousand men, who were “lying face down in the sand like angels receiving Christ with fear”. Then they sit down on the sand, and he teaches them just as Jesus did in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:1).

In the case of Anastasia Patrikia, Daniel is the one who gives her a new secret identity as a holy cross-dresser, and also becomes her confidant. He is also the confidant of Eulogios, who can be described, together with Daniel himself and Mark the Fool, as a repenting secret saint.

In two cases the secret saints are revealed to the public by Daniel: the drunken woman, who as a consequence flees to an unknown place, and Mark the Fool, who dies. In two cases the secret saints are revealed by Daniel to his disciple alone: the blind man, and Eulogios the Stone-cutter. In the case of Eulogios, Daniel forbids his disciple to tell anyone. Finally, in three cases the secret saints

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<sup>87</sup> For the belief of leprosy as a “sacred disease”, which could bring spiritual healing, see Commentary on 1:41.

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are revealed after their death: Thomaïs, Athanasia, and Anastasia Patrikia. In the case of Thomaïs, Daniel discerns her holiness after her death.

The moral message of the stories may seem to be that monks should not feel superior to laymen,<sup>88</sup> but since some of the figures are monastic—such as Mark, who is a monk, although people are unaware of it, the drunken woman, and Daniel himself—this is not the whole truth. The most important lesson is that of humility, the greatest virtue of all. All the stories are leavened with the ideal of humility. Daniel speaks to the reader: this is how you should serve God—by performing virtues in secret.

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<sup>88</sup> See especially 8:80–84. Cf. Vivian, “Figures” (2005), 144–145.



## Chapter III. The Textual Tradition

### 1. The manuscripts

Like many other hagiographic texts of this type, the Daniel texts have had a complicated textual transmission. There are many different redactions of the texts, which are preserved in more than one hundred MSS. Many MSS containing more than one Daniel text transmit a unique Daniel dossier with its own combination and ordering of different redactions of the texts. However, since I have considered it important to edit redactions separately, and avoid mixing different redactions together in one edition without good reasons, I have not examined every MS which transmits Daniel texts, but rather concentrated my efforts on those where Daniel texts are transmitted as part of *AP* collections. In particular, four MSS containing the derived alphabetical-anonymous *AP* collection have been singled out. I edit the redactions in the order they appear in these four related MSS. The four MSS have been collated from microfilms or microfiche copies and, with the exception of M, *in situ*.

#### 1.1. Description of the manuscripts

E = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del monasterio de San Lorenzo, cod. Scorialensis R.II.1 (Revilla 21): parchment, ca. 1170–1180,<sup>1</sup> 249 ff., 32 x 24 cm, two columns. It was damaged by fire in 1671, and several folia are missing. Scribe: Neilos of Rhodes (f. 32rb).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The date of the MS is not, as assumed by Revilla (*Catálogo*, 74), the 11th century. Miller (*Catalogue*, 17) correctly gives the 12th century, and Lucà (“Il Messan. gr. 73”, 681–682) gives a more precise date in the second half of the 12th century (ca. 1170–1180).

<sup>2</sup> Colophon in the MS: δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ· πρόσδεξαι τὸν κενὸν τοῦτον κόπον τοῦ ἀχρείου καὶ παραβάτου Νείλου. Ἦδη μακάριε Ἀντώνιε Κανναβὲ ἐκ τὰ Πάταρα (sic!) πεπλήρωκά σου τὴν ἐντολὴν περὶ τοῦ γεροντικοῦ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ εὐχου ἡμῖν ἐνδημῶν πρὸς Κύριον. (“Glory to You, our God, Glory to You, Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; accept this vain work from the unworthy sinner Neilos. Now, blessed Antonios Kannabos of Patara, with God I have fulfilled your order concerning the *gerontikon*, and pray for us when you dwell with the Lord.”) Lucà (“Il Messan. gr. 73”, 681–682) has identified the scribe. He was a monk from Patara in Asia Minor and worked as a scribe in the 1170s and onwards in the monastery τοῦ Ἀρταμίτου of Rhodes.

Literature: Miller, *Catalogue*, 17; Revilla, *Catálogo*, 74–96; Guy, *Recherches*, 212–220; Capaldo, “Tradizione slava”, 81–121; Capaldo, “L’Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik”, 26–49; Lucà, “Il Messan. gr. 73”, 681–682; Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 461–464.

Contents:

1. ff. 1ra–32rb: the small Scor./Par. collection (*inc. mutil.*). The Daniel dossier contains:

f. 9rb–vb: no. 1

f. 9vb: no. 2 (*des. mutil.*)

f. 10ra–vb: no. 6 (*inc. mutil.*)

ff. 10vb–12va: no. 7

ff. 12vb–13va: no. 8

2. ff. 32va–36vb: various monastic texts

3. ff. 37ra–107ra: *AP alph. deriv. a* (*inc. mutil.*)

4. ff. 107rb–110vb: a long prologue<sup>3</sup> followed by a list of 20 chapters

5. ff. 111ra–204va: *AP anon. deriv.*

6. ff. 204va–248v: various hagiographical material: excerpts from *PratSpir*, *HM*, *HL* etc. (*des. mutil.*)

**P** = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, cod. Parisinus gr. 919: paper,<sup>4</sup> 13th–14th century, 158 ff., two columns.

Literature: Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 1, 175; Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, 151, no. 28; Butler, “Introduction”, 2, xvi, no. 33; Tubbs Corey, “*Vita Sancti Pauli*”, 238–240; Guy, *Recherches*, 212; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 89–90; Festugière, “Introduction”, cxviii–cxxiii; Capaldo, “Tradizione slava”, 81–121; Capaldo, “L’Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik”, 26–49.

Contents:

1. ff. 1ra–46va: the small Scor./Par. collection. The Daniel dossier contains:

ff. 12va–13ra: no. 1

ff. 13rb–14ra: no. 2

ff. 14ra–14rb: no. 3

ff. 14va–15ra: no. 4A

ff. 15ra–18ra: no. 6

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<sup>3</sup> This is the same prologue that precedes the later systematical collection of *AP* (*AP syst. deriv.*), derived from older *AP* collections; see Guy, *Recherches*, 218, and 204, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> By my inspection of the MS in 1999, I observed that the material is paper, not parchment, as reported by Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 1, 175, Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, 151, no. 28, and Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 89–90.

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- ff. 18ra–20vb: no. 7
- ff. 20vb–22ra: no. 8
- 2. ff. 46va–47rb: prologue
- 3. ff. 47rb–129vb: *AP alph. deriv. a*
- 4. ff. 129vb–133rb: a long prologue followed by a list of 20 chapters
- 5. ff. 133rb–158vb: *AP anon. deriv.* (20 chapters) (*des. mutil.*)

**M** = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoriceskij Muzej, Sinodal. Bibl., cod. Mosquensis Synod. gr. 345 (Vladimir 342): parchment, the first half of the 11th century,<sup>5</sup> 414 ff., 26,6/74 x 20,8/12 cm, one column.

Literature: Vladimir, *Opisanie rukopisej*, 501–503; Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, 183; Capaldo, “Tradizione slava”, 81–121; Capaldo, “L’Azbucno-Ierusalimskij Paterik”, 26–49; Fonkič & Poliakov, *Grečeskie rukopisi*, 114; Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 462.

Contents:

- 1. f. 1r–v: prologue
- 2. ff. 1v–185v: *AP alph. deriv. b*. The Daniel dossier contains:
  - f. 39r–v: no. 1
  - ff. 40r–41r: no. 2
  - f. 41r–v: no. 3
  - ff. 41v–42v: no. **4B**
  - ff. 42v–44v: no. 5
  - ff. 44v–48v: no. 6
  - ff. 48v–52r: no. 7
  - ff. 52r–53v: no. 8
- 3. ff. 185v–191v: a long prologue followed by a list of 20 chapters
- 4. ff. 192r–364r: *AP anon. deriv.* (23 chapters)
- 5. ff. 364r–414v: various hagiographical material: excerpts from *PratSpir*, *HM*, *HL* etc. (*des. mutil.*)

**V** = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vaticanus gr. 858 (*olim* 796): paper,<sup>6</sup> 14th century, 210 ff., 33 x 21,7 cm, one column.

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<sup>5</sup> This is the date given by Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 462, which I adhere to. However, Vladimir (*Opisanie rukopisej*, 501) and Fonkič & Poliakov (*Grečeskie rukopisi*, 114) give the 10th century.

<sup>6</sup> The material is erroneously reported to be parchment in the old inventories published by Devreesse, *Fonds grec*, 80, 88, 126, 171, 193, 251, 340, and repeated by idem, *Codices Vat. Gr.*, 423. The correct information is given by De Marinis, *Legatura artistica*, 45, no. 2778.

Literature: Devreesse, *Codices Vat. Gr.*, 423–424; De Marinis, *Legatura artistica*, 45, no. 2778; Devreesse, *Fonds grec*, 80, 88, 126, 171, 193, 251, 340; Capaldo, “L’Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik”, 26–49.

Contents:

1. ff. 3r–210v: *AP alph. deriv. b (des. mutil.)*. The Daniel dossier contains:
  - ff. 40v–41v: no. 1
  - ff. 41v–43r: no. 2
  - ff. 43r–44r: no. 3
  - ff. 44r–45v: no. 4B
  - ff. 45v–48r: no. 5
  - ff. 48r–53r: no. 6
  - ff. 53r–57v: no. 7
  - ff. 57v–59r: no. 8

### *1.2. The AP collections of the manuscripts*

The Daniel stories edited in the present volume are part of the small Scor./Par. collection, which is found in E, ff. 1ra–32rb, and P, ff. 1ra–46va. This is an alphabetical collection containing various hagiographical and apophthegmatical material, in particular chapters from the *HL* and the *HM*, which in many ways differ from the printed editions. Faraggiana has emphasized the importance of the material for the study of the textual history of these and the other works, and thus the need of a critical edition of the whole collection.<sup>7</sup>

The derived alphabetical-anonymous *AP* collection (*AP alph.–anon. deriv.*) is derived from two older *AP* collections, the derived systematical collection and the Sabaitic collection.<sup>8</sup> The derived anonymous series consists of 23 chapters in systematical order. The derived alphabetical series is represented by two levels of the textual tradition; *a* and *b*. In *b* material from the small Scor./Par. collection is incorporated and placed under the alphabetical letters of the series.

The four MSS can be divided into two groups: E and P on the one side and M and V on the other. As is evident from a study of E and P, they transmit the small Scor./Par. collection, which includes a Daniel dossier, and then the larger,

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<sup>7</sup> Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 463. For a report of the contents of the collection in E, see Guy, *Recherches*, 212–213, and Capaldo, “Tradizione slava”, 106–107. I am planning to edit the collection.

<sup>8</sup> On the *AP alph.–anon. deriv.* collection, see Guy, *Recherches*, 212–220. See also Capaldo, “Tradizione slava”, 81–121, and *idem*, “L’Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik”, 44–47. The statement of a derivation from the Sabaitic collection is according to Faraggiana, *unpubl.*

derived *AP* series (*AP alph. deriv. a*). *M* and *V* represent a second level of the textual tradition transmitting the *AP alph. deriv. b*. Thus, material from the small *Scor./Par.* collection (including a Daniel dossier) is incorporated in the *AP* series.<sup>9</sup>

### *1.3. The relationship between E and P as against M and V*

The two groups of MSS contain two Daniel dossiers, which are very similar. Due to damage from a fire, *E* lacks the folia which most probably contained the second part of story no. 2, the stories nos. 3, 4 and the first part of story no. 6 (for the absence of story no. 5, see n. 10, below). There are three main differences between the Daniel dossiers in *P* and *MV*:

- 1) No. 4 is represented as by two different redactions.
- 2) No. 5 is absent in *P*.<sup>10</sup>
- 3) The *inc.* of no. 6 (lines 2–4) differs.

I have therefore chosen to edit the material as if it were one dossier, with the exception of no 4, whose redactions I edit as nos. 4A (represented in *P*) and 4B (represented in *M* and *V*). The *inc.* of no. 6 in *M* and *V* is reported in the *apparatus criticus*. Another example of a common variant shared by *M* and *V* as against *E* and *P* is the words τοῦ φόνου in the title of story no. 1. Other examples of common variants and omissions in *MP* as against (*E*)*P* are:

- 1:7 ἀπῆραν *EP*: ἐπῆραν *MV*  
2:17 δέκα *EP*: δώδεκα *MV*  
6:tit. Εὐλογίου *P*: om. *MV*  
6:7 λοιπὸν *P*: om. *MV*  
6:8 ὁ ... φησὶν *P*: λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων *MV*  
6:25 κέρματα *P*: κλάσματα *MV*  
6:49 ἐστὶν *P*: ἦν *MV*  
6:57 γὰρ *P*: om. *MV*

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Capaldo, “L’Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik”, 45–46; Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 462. Capaldo does not take into account the two levels of the derived alphabetical series, and suggests that *V* (level b) is its prototype. For the observation of the two levels, I refer to Faraggiana, *unpubl.* For another MS, which may contain the *AP alph. deriv.* series, in which Daniel texts are included, see part 2.5, below.

<sup>10</sup> The story is missing in *E*, too. As mentioned above, several folia are missing in this MS, but most probably the story was not transmitted at all by this MS.

- 6:79 ὥς ἄν P: ἵνα MV  
6:111 πάλιν P: om. MV  
6:136 μεγάλη P: πολλῇ MV  
6:150 ἐνεγγυησάμην P: ἐγγυησάμην MV  
7:54 σοι γάρ EP: γάρ σοι MV  
7:152 γυνή EP: ἡ γυνή MV

#### *1.4. The relationship between E and P*

E and P most probably derive from a common source, but neither of them is dependent on the other. For chronological reasons E cannot have been copied from P, nor is P a copy of E, as can be seen from the following examples of omissions and variants in E:

- 1:38 λοιποῦ P: om. E  
1:41–42 ἀντὶ ... λελωβημένον P: ex homoeoteleut. om. E  
1:49–50 καὶ ... ἥλιον P: om. E  
2:12–13 ὥς σαλὸς καὶ P: ὁ σαλὸς E  
6:173 λέγω αὐτῇ P: om. E  
6:208 ἐσπέρας P: ἐσπέρας βαθείας E  
8:59 αὐτῶν P: om. E  
8:77 μαγιστριανοὺς P: μεγιστάνους E

#### *1.5. The relationship between M and V*

M and V most probably derive from a common source, but neither of them is dependent on the other. For chronological reasons M cannot have been copied from V, nor is V a copy of M, as can be seen from the following examples of omissions and variants in M:

- 1:37 τὴν φιланθρωπίαν V: τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς M  
1:56 ἔργον V: θαῦμα M  
2:3 τελευτήν V: κοίμησιν M  
2:59 οἱ V: om. M  
4B:20 δίδω V: διώκο M  
5:19–20 καὶ ... κλαίοντες V: om. M  
6:49 ἐκεῖνος V: om. M  
6:93–94 χρήματα ... Εὐλογίου V: ex homoeoteleut. om. M  
6:98 τρυμαλιὰν ... εὕρισκει V: ex homoeoteleut. om. M

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7:21 φιλοπονίας V: φιλοπτωχίας M  
7:24 ὥς V: om. ut videtur M  
7:25 ὀργίζου V: γόγγιζε ut videtur M  
7:62 αὐτῇ V: om. M  
7:192 μεγάλη V: om. M

### 1.6. Readings in the two redactions of story no. 4

A comparison between the two redactions of story no. 4 reveals that **4B** is longer and has more elaborate readings. It seems that **4A** is an older redaction. There is little reason to believe that **4A** is an abridged redaction derived from **4B**. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 transmits a redaction very similar to that of **4A**, and has been used occasionally in the edition of **4A**. I here report the edited text:

#### 4A

—

12 τάχιον

13 ἐξελθεῖν

14–15 πρὸς τὴν νύμφην αὐτοῦ, ἡ δὲ  
κόρη λέγει αὐτῷ

—

15 σεαυτόν

16 τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν

17 ἡνείχετο

17–18 τὸ σπαθίον τοῦ νεωτέρου

ἐπάνωθεν τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ

19 λέγων αὐτῇ

20 ἀποθνήσκεις

—

20 μέλος μέλος

21–22 οὐ μή σε ἀκούσω. καὶ πέμπει  
ἄφνω τὸ ξίφος, καὶ κατασπᾷ τῇ κόρῃ  
κατὰ τῶν ψυῶν καὶ ἐδιχοτόμησεν  
αὐτήν

#### 4B

Tit. τινὸς

12 ἐννύχιον

13 ἀναχωρῆσαι

14–15 κατὰ τῆς κόρης, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ  
ἡ κόρη

15 πάτερ

—

16 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἡνέσχετο

17 ἡνέσχετο

17–18 ἐπάνω τοῦ κραββάτου τὸ σπαθίον

τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ

19 κατ' αὐτῆς λέγων

20 μετὰ τοῦ σπαθίου τούτου δίδω σε

20 αὐτῷ

21 μέλος καὶ μέλος

21–24 τὸ παράνομον πρᾶγμα τοῦτο

οὐδέποτε ποιῶ. καὶ ὀργισθεὶς μετὰ

θυμοῦ πέμπει ἄφνω τὸ σπαθίον

κατακυριευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ

κατασπᾷ τὴν κόρην κατὰ τῶν αὐτῆς

ψυῶν καὶ διχοτομεῖ αὐτήν

25–26 περὶ τὸ διάφανμα ζητοῦντες τὸν  
νεώτερον, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἀπῆλθεν  
ἀλιεύειν

27–29 αὐτήν; καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἴδε,  
ποῦ ἐστι. καὶ εἰσελθόντες βλέπουσι τὸ  
πράγμα, καὶ λέγουσι· τί ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ  
πράγμα

29–31 ὅτι φόνον ἐποίησα. καὶ  
ἀκούσαντες παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησαν  
αὐτὸν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῷ ἄρχοντι. καὶ  
ἐξετάσας αὐτὸν ὁ ἄρχων καὶ γνούς ὁ  
ἐποίησεν

34 ἄγωμεν

35 οἱ πατέρες

36–37 ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, οὐ μὴ  
ταφῇ τὸ λείψανον αὐτῆς

38 πολλοὶ δέ

—

38 λέγει οὖν

—

38 ἐμοῦ

39 αὕτη

39–40 ὁ δὲ συμμοναχὸς ἡμῶν περὶ  
ὁδύνης ἐκοιμήθη

40 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἠναντιώθη

41 τὴν κόρην

—

43–44 εἰς Σκῆτιν ἐπολεμήθη εἰς  
πορνείαν, καί

—

27–29 ζητοῦντες τὸν νεώτερον εἰς τὸ  
διάφανμα, καὶ βαλόντες αὐτῷ φωνήν,  
ἀπεκρίθη ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ· ὑπάγει  
ἀλιεῦσαι

29–30 καὶ ἀνοίξαντες βλέπουσι τὸ  
πτῶμα

31–33 καὶ παράδοτε τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὅτι  
φόνον πεποίηκα. καὶ παραλαβόντες  
αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς  
πόλεως. καὶ ὁ ἄρχων ἐξετάσας καὶ  
μαθὼν παρ’ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
βασανίσας

35–36 ἀπέλθωμεν καί

37–38 περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πατέρες τοῦ  
Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὁ ἀββᾶς  
Δανιήλ

39–40 ποιήσατε εὐχήν, πατέρες. οὐ  
γὰρ θάπτεται τῆς κόρης ταύτης τὸ  
λείψανον

41 καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν

41–43 ὥς ὅτι γυναικὸς λείψανον  
ἐπιτρέπει θάπτεσθαι μετὰ τῶν  
πατέρων, καὶ αὐτῆς φονευθείσης

43 καὶ λέγει

43 ἡ κόρη

44 μου

44 καὶ γάρ

—

44–45 τότε λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν

45 αὐτήν

46 ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς πατέρας

48–49 ἐπολεμήθη ἐν τῇ Σκῆτει ὑπὸ τοῦ  
δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας, καὶ  
ἐνοχλούμενος σφοδρῶς

51 Ἀλεξανδρείας



## Introduction

45 ἐπί	51 ἐπάνω
46 βοήθει	52 βοήθησόν
—	53 καὶ ῥῦσαί με ἐκ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς πορνείας
47 ἀπαλλαγὴ τοῦ πολέμου	54 ἀπαλλάσσει ἐκ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τούτου
—	55 λαβὼν τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ γέροντος ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ Ὁκτωκαιδέκατον καὶ
48 ὥς συνέταξεν	56 καθὼς προσέταξεν
48–49 ἐλθὼν μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας λέγει τῷ γέροντι	57–58 ἐπανελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν προσπίπτει εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ γέροντος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ
—	58 καί <sup>2</sup>
—	59 πάτερ
—	59 τῆς πορνείας
—	59–60 ὁ γέρων
—	60 ἡλευθερώθης
50 καὶ εἶπε	60 λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδελφός
52 τῶν πατέρων	61–62 καὶ ἀφύπνωσα
52 ἦλθε	62 ἔρχεται
—	62 ἀββᾶ
—	63 ἐν εἰρήνῃ
53–54 καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι, φησὶν, εὐλογίας τρεῖς	—
54 εὐθέως ἐκουφίσθη	64–66 τὴν εὐλογίαν εὐθέως ἐκουφίσθη τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἡλευθερώθη. τί δὲ ἦν ἡ εὐλογία οὐκ οἶδα. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων
55–57 οὖν παρρησίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ διὰ σωφροσύνην ἀποθνήσκοντες, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν στεφανούμενοι. ἀμήν.	66 ἔχουσιν παρρησίαν πρὸς Θεὸν οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς σωφροσύνης.

## 2. Other manuscripts

Among the more than one hundred MSS that transmit Daniel texts, many contain later *AP* collections. Besides the four MSS described above, I have used the MSS Par. Coisl. 282, 283, and Par. gr. 1598<sup>11</sup> for a number of readings in the edition. Besides these, the MSS Par. Coisl. 126<sup>12</sup> and 378<sup>13</sup> are referred to in the commentary. These MSS transmit interesting and valuable redactions of Daniel texts. Some of the readings, which differ from the edited text, are reported in the commentary. Of these MSS I would like to mention especially the MS Par. Coisl. 282, whose Daniel dossier also deserves to be edited.<sup>14</sup> Here is a short description of this MS. For the other MSS, see below.

### *Paris, Coislinianus 282 (11–12th centuries)*<sup>15</sup>

The MS transmits (ff. 1r–100r) the normal systematical collection of the *AP*, level b<sup>3</sup> in the process of the collection's enlargement as described by Guy.<sup>16</sup> Then follows various hagiographical material. A Daniel dossier is found under the title: Κεφάλαια τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου η' ("Eight chapters of Abba of Sketis").<sup>17</sup>

ff. 165v–166v: the story of Mark the Fool. *Inc.* Ἦν τις γέρων ἐν τῇ Σκήτει ὀνόματι Δανιήλ, καὶ εἶχε μαθητήν.

ff. 166v–167v: the story of Abba Daniel from Sketis (*BHG* 2100)

ff. 167v–168r: the story of the blind man

ff. 168r–169r: the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard

ff. 169r–171v: the story of Andronikos and Athanasia

ff. 171v–172r: the story of a holy and chaste young woman

ff. 172r–173r: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

ff. 173r–176r: the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter

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<sup>11</sup> Used only for story no. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Used only for story no. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Used only for story no. 6.

<sup>14</sup> I hope to have the opportunity to edit it in the future.

<sup>15</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 3, 169; *Cat. hag. gr. Par.*, 306–307; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3, 940–941; Festugière, "Introduction", lxxiii–xcv; Guy, *Recherches*, 120–121; Devreesse, *Fonds Coislin*, 262–264; Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs*, 267.

<sup>16</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 187; idem, "Introduction", 30.

<sup>17</sup> For more on the Daniel texts in this MS, see Chapter I, part 3, above, and Commentary on 1:2 and 2:2.

## 2.1. The Sabaitic AP collection

The Sabaitic collection of the *AP* is a mixed type of collection. It consists of both named and anonymous material. The named texts are placed in alphabetical order by name of the desert fathers and mothers, and in the end of every alphabetical chapter, a number of anonymous texts are placed.<sup>18</sup> The collection consists of various material of different origins and dates. According to Faraggiana, this is an important collection for the study of the textual history of the *AP*. It was compiled before the normal alphabetical–anonymous collection (*AP/G+GN*) but later than the normal systematical collection (*AP/GS*). Some of the material derives from the *AP/GS*, other material transmits *AP* texts in a very old textual tradition.<sup>19</sup>

According to Guy, the MSS transmitting the Sabaitic collection of the *AP* are: Par. gr. 1598, Athos Karakallou 38, and London, Burney 50.<sup>20</sup> Unpublished material by René Draguet about the *AP* textual tradition allows us to add to these the MSS Sinai, gr. 1608, and Mosq. Synod. gr. 190 (Vladimir 346).<sup>21</sup> The redactions of the Daniel texts they transmit are not the same as those edited in the present volume.

*Paris, Par. gr. 1598 (an. 1071/1072)*<sup>22</sup>

Only one Daniel text is found:

ff. 247v–252r: the story of Andronikos and Athanasia, *BHG* 121 (Clugnet, no. 10A). This seems to be an old redaction with valuable and significant variants.

*Athos, Karakallou 38 (13th century)*<sup>23</sup>

The MS transmits none of the eight Daniel stories, but on ff. 150v–153r the story of Doulas (*BHG* 2101c) is found.

*London, Brit. Libr. Burney 50 (an. 1361/1362)*<sup>24</sup>

The following texts are found under the title Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ (“Abba Daniel”):

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<sup>18</sup> On the Sabaitic collection of the *AP*, see Guy, *Recherches*, 221–230.

<sup>19</sup> Faraggiana, *unpubl.*

<sup>20</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 222.

<sup>21</sup> Faraggiana, *unpubl.*

<sup>22</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2, 101–102; *Cat. hag. gr. Par.*, 274; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3, 929; Guy, *Recherches*, 222; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 222.

<sup>23</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 222–223.

<sup>24</sup> Forshall, *Catalogue*, 15–18; Guy, *Recherches*, 223; *Summary Catalogue*, 37.

## *The Textual Tradition*

p. 129: *AP/G Daniel 1*

pp. 129–131: the story of Daniel from Sketis (*BHG 2100*)

pp. 131–132: *AP/G Daniel 5, 2, 3*

Then follows (under separate titles):

pp. 132–136: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

pp. 137–141: the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard

pp. 141–151: the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter

*Sinai, Sinait. gr. 1608 (14th century)*<sup>25</sup>

The following texts are found under the title *Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ*:

ff. 11va–12ra: *AP/G Daniel 1, 5, 2, 3*

ff. 12ra–13ra: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

ff. 13ra–14rb: the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard

ff. 14rb–14vb, 23ra–25va: the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter (*BHG 618a*)

*Moscow, Gos. Istor. Muz., Sinod. Bibl. 190 (Vladimir 346) (13–14th c.)*<sup>26</sup>

The following texts are found under the title *Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ*:

ff. 30v–31r: *AP/G Daniel 1, 5, 2, 3*

ff. 31r–32v: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

ff. 32v–34v: the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard

Then follows under the title *Περὶ Εὐλογίου τοῦ λατόμου*:

ff. 34v–39r: the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter

The MS also transmits the following stories under the title *Διηγήματα ψυχωφελῆ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου* (“Spiritually beneficial stories of Abba Daniel of Sketis”):

ff. 96v–98v: the story of Mark the Fool. *Inc.* Ἦν τις γέρων ἐν τῇ Σκῇτῃ ὀνόματι Δανιήλ, καὶ εἶχεν μαθητήν.

ff. 98v–99v: the story of the blind man

ff. 99v–101r: the story of a holy and chaste young woman

f. 101r–v (*des. mutil.*): the story of Andronikos and Athanasia

As is evident from the descriptions above, in some MSS the Daniel stories are transmitted together with some of the texts of the Daniel of the ~~*AP/G*~~ the disciple of Arsenios in the fifth century.<sup>27</sup> One may note that the first two texts in

<sup>25</sup> Benešević, *Catalogus*, 77.

<sup>26</sup> Vladimir, *Opisanie rukopisej*, 506–507; Fonkič & Poliakov, *Grečeskie rukopisi*, 115. I adhere to the date given by Fonkič & Poliakov.

<sup>27</sup> I.e. Daniel no. 2 on the list in Chapter I, part 3, above.

the Daniel dossier of the MS London Burney 50 both concern an Abba Daniel confronting barbarians coming to Sketis. The MS first transmits (on p. 129) *AP/G* Daniel 1, *inc.* Ἐλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ, ὅτι ὅτε εἰς Σκήτην ἦλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἔφυγον οἱ ἀδελφοί, καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· ... (“It was said about Abba Daniel, that when the barbarians came to Sketis, the brothers fled, and the elder said: ...”),<sup>28</sup> and then the story of Abba Daniel from Sketis, *inc.* Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ παιδιόθεν ἀπετάξατο εἰς Σκήτην. καὶ ἐπέρριψαν οἱ βάρβαροι ... (“This Abba Daniel became a monk at Sketis as a child. And the barbarians attacked ...”).

## 2.2. *The AP collections in Par. gr. 890 and Par. Coisl. 283*

The MSS Par. gr. 890, Par. Coisl. 283 and Sinai, gr. 450, are listed by Guy as containing mutilated or abridged versions of the anonymous series of the normal alphabetical-anonymous *AP* collection without the normally preceding alphabetical series.<sup>29</sup> However, according to Faraggiana, they contain collections consisting of various kinds of hagiographical material including some old apophthegmatical material of great importance for the study of the textual history of *AP/G+GN*.<sup>30</sup> The Paris MSS also contain Daniel texts.<sup>31</sup>

### *Paris, Par. gr. 890 (11th century)*<sup>32</sup>

The same Daniel dossier as in the MS Par. Coisl. 126 (see below) is found on ff. 15r–38v.

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<sup>28</sup> According to Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 457–458, the text of *AP/G* Daniel 1 seems to have undergone a process of simplification. It might originally have been a report by Daniel of a saying by his master Arsenios. The corresponding text in the unedited *Vita Arsenii* (*BHG* 167z) is: *inc.* Ἐλεγεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ εἰς Σκήτην ὅτι ὅτε ἦλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἔφυγον οἱ ἀδελφοί, καὶ λέγει ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀββᾶς Ἀρσένιος ... (“Abba Daniel in Sketis said that when the barbarians came the brothers fled, and our father Abba Arsenios said ...”)

<sup>29</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 60, 88.

<sup>30</sup> Faraggiana, “*Un apophthegma di Macario*”, 271–272. Concerning the MS Par. gr. 890, I refer to Faraggiana, *unpubl.*

<sup>31</sup> I have not studied the MS Sinai, gr. 450, whose *AP* collection is very similar to the one in Par. Coisl. 283 (Guy, *Recherches*, 101; Faraggiana, “*Un apophthegma di Macario*”, 271, n. 5), but most probably Daniel texts are found there as well.

<sup>32</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 1, 168; Guy, *Recherches*, 89–91; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 84.

*Paris, Coislinianus 283 (11th century)*<sup>33</sup>

A Daniel dossier is found on ff. 163r–177r under the title Τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀββᾶν Δανιήλ (“Things related to Abba Daniel”). The story of Andronikos and Athanasia is found on ff. 291v–295r.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.3. *The normal anonymous AP series*

The anonymous series of the normal alphabetical-anonymous AP collection was partly edited by Nau from the MS Par. Coisl. 126 (N).<sup>35</sup> The edited material is numbered N 1–400. The *incipits* of the nos. 393–670 are published by Guy.<sup>36</sup> In his description of the structure of the series in this MS, Guy groups the material in nine sections.<sup>37</sup> Stories related to Daniel of Sketis (N 596) constitute section no. 8.<sup>38</sup>

Here is a description of the section:

*Paris, Coislinianus 126 (10th–11th centuries)*<sup>39</sup>

ff. 310vb–311ra: *BHG* 2102a (Clugnet, no. 1)

ff. 311ra–312va: the story of Mark the Fool. Title: Βίος τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου (“Life of Abba Daniel of Sketis”). *Inc.* Ἦν τις γέρων ἐν τῇ Σκήτει ὀνόματι Δανιήλ, καὶ εἶχε μαθητήν.

ff. 312vb–313va: the story of the blind man

ff. 313va–315ra: the story of a holy and chaste young woman

ff. 315ra–317rb: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

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<sup>33</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 3, 169–170; *Cat. hag. gr. Par.*, 307–308; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3, 941; Devreesse, *Fonds Coislin*, 264–266; Guy, *Recherches*, 99–101; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 268.

<sup>34</sup> For the Daniel texts in this MS, which was used by Clugnet for his edition, see Chapter I, part 2.1, above.

<sup>35</sup> For this series, see Guy, *Recherches*, 59–115, and the additions on pp. 256–257.

<sup>36</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 64–74. Some of these texts are included and published in PE. The whole series is translated into French and published in Regnault, *SPD anon.*

<sup>37</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 74–88.

<sup>38</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 87. Guy’s list of the texts in the section corresponding to the nos. given by Clugnet is incorrect. The right numbers are “1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 2. 10. 7. 9.”. The Daniel dossier in AP/GN is translated into French in Regnault, *SPD anon.*, no. 1596, 1–7, 9–10. However, although the texts are placed in the order of the MS Par. Coisl. 126, the translations are generally made from the texts of the MS Par. Coisl. 283, which was used by Clugnet.

<sup>39</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 3, 140; Devreesse, *Fonds Coislin*, 121; Guy, *Recherches*, 63–74; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 252–253.

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ff. 317rb–322ra: the story of Andronikos and Athanasia

ff. 322ra–324va: the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard

ff. 324va–329vb: the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter

Other MSS containing *AP/G+GN* (including the Daniel texts in section no. 8 of the anonymous series), as listed by Guy and Faraggiana,<sup>40</sup> are:

Berlin, Phill. 1624 (14th century)<sup>41</sup>

Sinai, Sinait. gr. 448 (*an.* 1004)<sup>42</sup>

Paris, Coislinianus 232 (11th century)<sup>43</sup>

Paris, Par. gr. 1605 (12th century)<sup>44</sup>

Naples, Neapol. II.C.27 (11th century)<sup>45</sup>

Rome, Vat. gr. 1599 (10th century)<sup>46</sup>

Rome, Vat. gr. 1632 (12th century)<sup>47</sup>

Another MS not mentioned by Guy and Faraggiana is the palimpsest Vat. gr. 1238 (*an.* 1194/1195).<sup>48</sup>

For the MS Par. Coisl. 378, which contains an abridged version of *AP/GN* (including the Daniel story no. 6), see part 2.6, below.

The following MSS transmit *AP/GN* (or an abridged version of the series) without section no. 8, but Daniel texts are found elsewhere among other hagiographical material in the MSS:

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<sup>40</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 60, 88, 256–257; Faraggiana, “Un *apophthegma* di Macario”, 270–271. I adhere to the dates given by Faraggiana.

<sup>41</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 92–93. In this MS, section no. 8 only gives *BHG* 2102a (Clugnet, no. 1), while a Daniel dossier is found in the folia preceding *AP/GN*.

<sup>42</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 94–97.

<sup>43</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 97–99.

<sup>44</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 102–103. This MS contains an abridged version of *AP/G+GN*; see Guy, *Recherches*, 60, 88. Section no. 8 only gives the stories of Doulas (*BHG* 2101a), Eulogios the Stone-cutter, and Anastasia Patrikia.

<sup>45</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 256–257.

<sup>46</sup> Guy, *Recherches*, 256–257.

<sup>47</sup> This MS is not mentioned by Guy.

<sup>48</sup> Garitte, “Deux manuscrits”, 16–23.

*Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 504 (11th century)*<sup>49</sup>

A Daniel dossier is found in the last folia of the MS (ff. 266r–275v)—the last story being the one of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard (*des. mutil.*).

*Paris, Par. gr. 1036 (15th century)*<sup>50</sup>

The following Daniel stories are found in folia preceding an abridged version of *AP/G+GN*:

ff. 120v–124v: the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter (*BHG* 618b). *Inc.:* Διηγῆσατο ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ, ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆς Σκήτεως, εἰπὼν ...<sup>51</sup>

ff. 145r–147v: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

ff. 147v–149v: the story of a holy and chaste young woman

*Paris, Par. gr. 1089 (an. 990)*<sup>52</sup>

The following Daniel stories are found in the folia following an abridged version of *AP/G+GN*:

ff. 334v–338v: the story of Anastasia Patrikia

ff. 338v–347v: the story of Andronikos and Athanasia

*Ochrid 33 (catal. 74) (11th–12th centuries)*<sup>53</sup>

The MS transmits on pp. 352r–372r (*des. mutil.*), after an abridged version of *AP/G+GN* and other apophthegmatical material, the same Daniel dossier that is found in the MS Par. Coisl. 282.

Besides these MSS, according to Faraggiana, the MSS Athos Lavra H 176, Athos Pantokrator 42, Moscow, Synod. gr. 189 (Vlad. 343), and Vienna, hist. gr. 9, contain the normal anonymous series of *AP*.<sup>54</sup> I have not studied them, but they, too, may contain Daniel texts.

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<sup>49</sup> Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 100; Guy, *Recherches*, 60, 88, 93–94; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 60–61. I adhere to the date given by Faraggiana, “Un apophthegma di Macario”, 270.

<sup>50</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 1, 208; Guy, *Recherches*, 60, 88, 103–105; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 106.

<sup>51</sup> For this redaction, see Chapter I, part 2, n. 10, above.

<sup>52</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 1, 218; Guy, *Recherches*, 89, n. 1; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 111.

<sup>53</sup> Canart, “Le ms. 33 d’Ochrida”, 22–32.

<sup>54</sup> Faraggiana, “Un apophthegma di Macario”, 270–271.



One may note that *BHG* 2102a: *De monacho qui in monumento dormiebat* (Clugnet, no. 1) is normally the first text of the Daniel dossier and that the story of Abba Daniel from Sketis (*BHG* 2100: *De homicidio*) seems to be missing in the MSS.

### 2.4. The derived systematical AP collection

The derived systematical AP collection is derived from the normal alphabetical–anonymous collection.<sup>55</sup> Daniel texts are found scattered in various chapters. For example, in the MS Par. Coisl. 127 Daniel texts are found in the chapters V.85; VII.11, 13, 14; VIII.4; XIII.3, 4.<sup>56</sup> The MSS are:<sup>57</sup>

Paris, Coislinianus 127 (12th century)

Paris, Coislinianus 108 (11th century)

Milan, Ambros. F 140 Sup. (13th century)

Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 501 (11th century)<sup>58</sup>

Jerusalem, Sabait. 180 (end of the 10th century)

Sinai, Sinait. gr. 449 (10th–11th centuries)

Paris, Suppl. gr. 1276 (12th century)

### 2.5. The derived alphabetical AP series

For a description of the *AP alph.–anon. deriv.* collection, see part 1.2 of this Chapter, above. Besides the four MSS used in the present edition, there is another MS which may contain the *AP alph. deriv.* series, in which some of the Daniel stories (according to the same redactions as in EPMV) are included.<sup>59</sup> For the MS Par. Coisl. 378, which contains an abridged version of the *AP alph. deriv.* series (including the text of *BHG* 2101c), see part 2.6, below.

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<sup>55</sup> On this collection, see Guy, *Recherches*, 201–211.

<sup>56</sup> For an analysis of this MS, see Guy, *Recherches*, 264–272.

<sup>57</sup> See Guy, *Recherches*, 202, with n. 1.

<sup>58</sup> For the Daniel story on ff. 43rb–46vb in this MS, see Chapter I, part 2.1, n. 19, above.

<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately I became aware of this MS too late to use it for my edition. Shortly before the printing of this book I was informed by Ch. Faraggiana that the MS Athos, Vatopedi 409 contains the *AP alph. deriv. b* including a Daniel dossier, and that it must be expected that there exist further MSS transmitting the *AP alph.–anon. deriv.* collection in which Daniel stories are included. However, the investigation of these MSS remains to be done. For the establishment of an acceptable text of the Daniel stories the sources used in this edition are sufficient.

*Paris, Suppl. gr. 1319 (17th century)*<sup>60</sup>

The MS contains a collection of *AP*, which may be of the *alph. deriv.* type, but this remains to be examined.<sup>61</sup> It transmits the following Daniel stories:

ff. 98r–102r: the story of a holy and chaste young woman (according to a redaction similar to no. **4B** (*des.* as in **4B**))

ff. 102r–107v: no. **8**

ff. 107v–111v: no. **1**

ff. 111v–116r: no. **2**

Then follows under the title Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δουλᾶ τοῦ συκοφαντηθέντος ὡς ἱεροσύλου (“Abba Doulas who was falsely accused of being a sacrilegious thief”) the story of the monk falsely accused of theft, *BHG* 2101c (ff. 116r–124r).

## 2.6. The *AP* collections in *Par. Coisl. 378* and *Vat. Arch. S. Petri C 149*

A number of MSS contain several collections or series of hagiographic and apophthegmatic material in unique combinations. The following MSS contain Daniel stories according to the same redactions as in *EPMV*.<sup>62</sup>

*Paris, Coislinianus 378 (14th century)*<sup>63</sup>

The MS belongs to a category of *gerontika*, which have the form of florilegia. Among other texts the MS contains a collection of *AP* consisting of the same dossiers of Antonios, Arsenios and Agathon as are found in the MSS *Par. gr. 1596* and *Venice, Marc. II.70*, which transmit the oldest alphabetical-anonymous *AP* collection; then follows an abridged version of the *AP alph. deriv.* series.<sup>64</sup> In this series the following text is found:

ff. 33v–36r: the story of the monk falsely accused of theft, *BHG* 2101c

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<sup>60</sup> Astruc & Concasty, *Supplément gr.*, 608–611; Halkin, “L’hagiographie byzantine”, 157; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 308–309.

<sup>61</sup> Faraggiana, *unpubl.*

<sup>62</sup> As in the case of the *Par. Suppl. gr. 1319*, I became aware of the Daniel texts in these MSS too late to use them for my edition.

<sup>63</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 3, 193; *Cat. hag. gr. Par.*, 323; Devreesse, *Fonds Coislin*, 361–362; Guy, *Recherches*, 57–58; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 279.

<sup>64</sup> Faraggiana, *unpubl.* Cf. Guy, *Recherches*, 57–58. For the old alphabetical-anonymous *AP* collection transmitted in the MSS *Vat. gr. 2592*, *Par. gr. 1596* and *Venice, Marc. II.70*, see Faraggiana, “*Il paterikon Vat. gr. 2592*”, 79–96, and Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 460.

## Introduction

Then follows, on ff. 78r–161v, an anonymous *AP* series.<sup>65</sup> It transmits the following Daniel story:

ff. 143v–148v: no. 6 (the same *inc.* as in P)

*Rome, Vat. Arch. S. Petri C 149 (an. 1611)*<sup>66</sup>

The MS contains various hagiographic and apophthegmatic material. It could be called a “wild collection”. Several texts are transmitted in redactions which we also find in the *AP alph. deriv.* series.<sup>67</sup> Daniel texts are found scattered in the MS:

ff. 116v–124v: no. 7

ff. 124v–128r: no. 8

Then follows under the title *Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δουλαῖ* (“Abba Doulas”) the story of the monk falsely accused of theft, *BHG* 2101c (ff. 128r–133r).

ff. 168r–170v: no. 1

In another section, the MS transmits the following stories (not the same redactions as in EPMV):

ff. 329r–332r: the story of Mark the Fool. Title: *Διήγησις ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου* (“An account from the life of Abba Daniel of Sketis”). *Inc.* Ἦν τις γέρων ἐν τῇ Σκήτει ὀνόματι Δανιήλ, καὶ εἶχεν μαθητήν.

ff. 332r–334r: the story of the blind man

ff. 334r–337r: the story of a holy and chaste young woman

## 3. Principles of Edition and Translation

The following principles are applied also in the Introduction and in the Commentary.

### 3.1. Text and apparatus criticus

I have followed the MSS readings closely and tried to minimise the use of emendations. For example, forms in the accusative, when the dative or genitive

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<sup>65</sup> According to Guy (*Recherches*, 60, 89, n. 1) this is an abridged version of the *AP/GN*. However, according to Faraggiana (*unpubl.*), this may as well be an abridged version of the *AP anon. deriv.* series. It remains to be examined.

<sup>66</sup> Canart, *Catalogue*, 35–43.

<sup>67</sup> Faraggiana, *unpubl.*

would be expected because of a governing verb or a preposition, have not been corrected.

As is customary, I have normalised the accentuation and breathings in the text, as well as in the *apparatus criticus*. To punctuation modern conventions have been applied. The *apparatus* reports some deviations in accents and breathings, for example when they affect the meaning. No *iota subscripta* appear in the MSS. I have supplied them in the text and in the *apparatus*.

To avoid a swelling *apparatus*, in most cases I do not report itacistic or other trivial misspellings and/or variations in vowel length, except when they affect the meaning, and when such misspellings may give interesting information on the history of the Greek language. However, when all the MSS (EPMV) have the same alternative spelling of a Greek word or name, I have mostly retained this spelling, as for example 8:51 ΚΕΝΤΌΝΙΟΝ for ΚΕΝΤΏΝΙΟΝ. Two exceptions are ΣΚΗΤΙΣ with its various inflectional forms, and ΤαβΕΝΝΗΣΙΩΤΩΝ. I have throughout spelled ΣΚΗΤΙΣ, ΣΚΗΤΕΙ, and ΣΚΗΤΙΝ, with no reports of variations in the *apparatus*.<sup>68</sup> The MSS throughout give ΤαβΕΝΝΗΣΙΩΤΩΝ for ΤαβΕΝΝΗΣΙΩΤΩΝ, which I print.

Variations between forms that depend on the inclusion or omission of movable ν, or between elided or unelided forms, have not been reported. Where the MSS differ, I adopt the reading whereby hiatus is avoided.

Except for story no. 4A, readings from other MSS have only been reported when they give a reading which is not found in EPMV and which is adopted into the text as an emendation.

### 3.2. Translation

The translation is my own, but a great source of help and inspiration has been an unpublished translation made by John Wortley of the texts published by Clugnet.

Mostly I have retained the Greek spelling for Greek names of persons and places, for example “Andronikos” and “Sketis”. The exceptions are such names which have a generally acknowledged Anglicized form, for example “Justinian” and “Constantinople”.

The word γέρων has been translated by “elder”. In monastic literature the term does not primarily indicate old age (and hence subsequent lack of strength or powerlessness), but is commonly an honorary title of a venerable man.

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<sup>68</sup> Variations are for example ΣΚΗΤΗ (in 2:58, where all the MSS agree), ΣΚΗΤΗ, and ΣΚΗΤΗΝ. The same principle is applied to the derived word ΣΚΗΤΙΩΤΑΙ; the variation ΣΚΙΤΙΩΤΑΙ is not reported in the *apparatus*.

## *Introduction*

Quotations from and allusions to the Bible are translated basically according to the New Revised Standard Version. When the Septuagint text deviates from the Hebrew version, I have followed the translation made by L.C.L. Brenton<sup>69</sup> or made my own translation.

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<sup>69</sup> Brenton, *The Septuagint*.

## List of Signs

E	cod. Scorialensis R.II.1 (Revilla 21) (ca. 1170–1180)
P	cod. Parisinus gr. 919 (13–14th c.)
M	cod. Mosquensis Synod. gr. 345 (Vladimir 342) (11th c.)
V	cod. Vaticanus gr. 858 ( <i>olim</i> 796) (14th c.)
Pap.-Ker.	Papadopoulos-Kerameus (in <i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i> 15 [1910])

{ }	delenda
< >	addenda

# Text and Translation

## 1. Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ τοῦ Σκητιώτου

Οὗτος ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ἐκ παιδόθεν ἀπετάξατο ἐν Σκήτει. καὶ τὰ  
μὲν πρῶτα ἐν κοινοβίῳ ἐκαθέσθη ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, ὕστερον  
δὲ κατὰ μόνας ἡσκέετο. ἐπιρρίψαντες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἡχμαλώ-  
5 τευσαν αὐτόν. καὶ διέτριβε μετ' αὐτῶν διετὴ χρόνον. καὶ τις  
ἀνὴρ φιλόχριστος ἀνερρύσατο αὐτόν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ πάλιν  
μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀνῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπῆραν αὐτόν. καὶ  
ποιήσας μετ' αὐτῶν μῆνας ἕξ ἔφυγεν ἐξ αὐτῶν. καὶ πάλιν ἐκ  
10 τρίτου ἐπιρρίψαντες ἡχμαλώτευσαν αὐτόν. καὶ κακοποιοῦντες  
αὐτόν ἔθλιβον δι' αἰκισμῶν ἀφειδῶς. ἐν μιᾷ οὖν εὐρῶν εὐκαιρίαν  
λαβὼν λίθον ἐπάταξε τὸν ἀλλόφυλον, καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτόν ἀποθανεῖν  
ἐκ τοῦ λίθου. φυγὼν δὲ ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ἐσώθη.

καὶ μεταμεληθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, ᾧ ἐποίησεν, ἔρχεται ἐν  
'Αλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ ἀνατίθεται Τιμοθέῳ τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τὰ τοῦ  
15 πράγματος. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος κατέγνω αὐτοῦ λέγων· μὴ γὰρ ὁ  
ρύσάμενός σε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκ δευτέρου οὐκ ἡδύνατό σε καὶ πάλιν  
ρύσασθαι; ἀλλ' ὅμως φόνον οὐκ ἐποίησας, θηρίον γὰρ ἀπέκτεινας.  
πλεύσας οὖν ἐν 'Ρώμῃ ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ἀνέθετο πάλιν τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
φόνου καὶ τῷ πάπᾳ 'Ρώμης, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶπεν αὐτῷ.  
20 ἀπῆλθεν οὖν καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἐν 'Εφέσῳ καὶ ἐν  
'Ιεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐν 'Αντιοχείᾳ καὶ ἀνέθετο τοῖς πατριάρχαις τὰ  
περὶ τοῦ φόνου, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐκ συμφώνου τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον  
εἶπον αὐτῷ.

πάλιν οὖν ὑποστρέψας ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῷ·  
25 Δανιήλ, Δανιήλ, ὁ φονεύων φονεύεται· καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὸ πραι-  
τώριον παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς κομενταρησίοις λέγων αὐτοῖς·  
ἐπειδὴ μάχην ἐποίησα μετὰ τινος καὶ κατακυριευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ

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ΕΡΜV

**tit.** Περὶ ... Σκητιώτου: περὶ τοῦ φόνου post Σκητιώτου add. M τοῦ φόνου ante τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ add. V || 2 ι' ante Οὗτος in marg. add. V || 3 τεσσαράκοντα: μ' E τεσ μ V || 7 ἐπῆραν (-εί- V) M V || 8 ἕξ: ε' E || 13-14 ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ: εἰς ἀλεξάνδρειαν V || 14 ἀνατίθεται: θεικεν in marg. ex -τιματος corr. V || τῷ om. P || 14-15 Τιμοθέῳ ... πράγματος: τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπο τὰ τοῦ πράγματος in marg. V || 16 καὶ om. E || 18 ἐν ῥώμῃ post Δανιήλ transp. V || 19 τῆς ante 'Ρώμης add. V || 20 οὖν om. V || 26 ἑαυτὸν: αὐτόν P



## 1. Abba Daniel from Sketis

This Abba Daniel became a monk at Sketis as a child. At first he lived in a community for forty years; then he practised asceticism in solitude. Then the barbarians attacked and took him prisoner. He remained with them for two years, until a man who loved Christ rescued him from the barbarians. Then again after a short while the barbarians returned and took him away. He was with them for six months, and then he fled from them. Yet a third time they attacked him and took him prisoner. They treated him badly and tormented him without mercy. One day he seized an opportunity, took a stone and hit the foreigner, who accidentally died from the stone. Abba Daniel fled and reached safety.

Repenting the murder he had committed, he went to Alexandria and told of the matter to Archbishop Timotheos. The archbishop berated him and said: "He who rescued you twice from them, could He not have rescued you again? However, you did not commit murder; you killed a wild beast." Abba Daniel sailed to Rome and once more referred the murder, now to the Pope of Rome, who said the same thing to him. He went to Constantinople, to Ephesos, Jerusalem and Antioch, and told the patriarchs of the murder, and they all, as from one voice, said the same thing to him.

When he returned to Alexandria, he said to himself: "Daniel, Daniel; he who kills will be killed," so he went to the governor's residence, gave himself up to the officials and said to them: "I fought with somebody and, overwhelmed by anger, I struck him with a stone and killed him. I

θυμοῦ ἔδωκα αὐτὸν μετὰ λίθου καὶ ἀπέκτεινα, παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς  
 ἵνα παραδοθῶ τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀποθάνω ἀντὶ τοῦ φόνου, οὐ ἔπραξα,  
 30 ἵνα κουφισθῶ ἐκ τῆς μελλούσης κολάσεως. ἀκούσαντες δὲ αὐτοὶ  
 ἔβαλον αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν. καὶ μετὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀνέθεντο  
 τῷ ἄρχοντι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἐξενέγκας αὐτὸν τῆς  
 φυλακῆς ἐξήταζε τὰ περὶ τοῦ φόνου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων θαυμάσας ἐπὶ τῇ διακρίσει τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δανιήλ  
 35 ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ὕπαγε εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀββᾶ· εἴθε καὶ  
 ἄλλους ἐπτὰ ἐφόνευσας ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ὁ δὲ γέρων λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῷ· ἐλπίδας ἔχω εἰς τὴν φιланθρωπίαν  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει μοι τοῦ λοιποῦ λογίσασθαι ἢ αὐτοῦ  
 ἀγαθότης τὰ περὶ τοῦ φόνου· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νῦν δεξιὰς δίδωμι τῷ  
 40 Χριστῷ, ὥστε πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου ὑπηρετεῖν με ἕνα  
 λελωβημένον ἀντὶ τοῦ φόνου, οὐ ἔπραξα. καὶ ἔλαβεν ἕνα λελωβη-  
 μένον εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι· ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃ  
 οὗτος, ἀπέρχομαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαμβάνω ἄλλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκητιῶται ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἔχει ὁ γέρων  
 45 λελωβημένον, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἠδύνατο ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐκτὸς  
 τοῦ γέροντος μόνου. ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν περὶ ὥραν ἕκτην  
 ἐκάλεσεν ὁ γέρων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὴν πρὸς τὸ διακονῆσαι αὐτῷ  
 τιποτε· κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνέβη ἐπιλαθέσθαι τὸν  
 γέροντα τὴν θύραν τοῦ κελλίου ἀνεωγμένην. καὶ ἐκάθητο εἰς τὸν  
 50 ἥλιον περιοδεύων τὸν λελωβημένον. ἦν δὲ ὁ λελωβημένος πάνυ  
 ἠφανισμένος ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων. ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς τοῦ γέροντος ὑπο-  
 στρέψας ἐκ τῆς διακονίας καὶ εὐρὼν τὴν θύραν ἀνεωγμένην  
 κατενόησε τὸν γέροντα πῶς περιώδευε τὸν λελωβημένον. καὶ διὰ  
 τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πάνυ σεσαθρωμένον κατέμασσε τὴν τροφήν καὶ  
 55 ἔβαλλεν εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

27 κατακυριευθεῖς: κυριευθὺς V || 28 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ M || οὖν om. P V || 31  
 τριάκοντα: λ' E || 34 τῇ διακρίσει om. P || 37 τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν: τοὺς  
 οἰκτιρμούς M || 38 λοιποῦ om. E || 39 τοῦ νῦν: τοῦ om. E || 42–43 ἀντὶ ...  
 λελωβημένον ex homoeoteleut. om. E || 45 ἰδεῖν post αὐτοῦ transp. E || ἐκτὸς: ἐκ  
 M || 48 τοῦ om. E M || 49–50 καὶ ... ἥλιον om. E || 54 κατέμασε (μασεν V) P  
 M V || 55 ἔβαλεν P M

### *1. Abba Daniel from Sketis*

therefore beg you that I may be handed over to the governor, so that I may die for the murder I committed and be relieved of the punishment to come.” When they heard it, they put him in prison. After thirty days they told the governor about him. The governor brought him out of the prison and questioned him about the murder. He told him the whole truth, and the governor was amazed at Abba Daniel’s scrupulousness. He released him, saying: “Go, and pray for me, abba; would you had killed another seven of them!”

But the elder said to himself: “My hope is in God’s love for mankind, that his goodness will not hold me responsible for the murder in the future. I swear to Christ that from now on I will dedicate all the days of my life to the service of a leper, on account of the murder I committed.” And he took a leper to his cell and said to himself: “If this man dies, I shall return to Egypt and get another one in his stead.”

All the people in Sketis knew that the elder had a leper, but nobody was allowed to see his face except the elder alone. One day, however, about the sixth hour the elder called his disciple to perform some service for him. And, by the providence of God, it happened that the elder forgot that the door to his cell was open. He sat down in the sun, caring for the leper. The leper was completely wasted away by his sores. When the disciple of the elder returned from his duty and found the door open, he could see how the elder cared for the leper. And because he was completely purulent, the elder wiped off the food and put it into his mouth.

ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ μαθητὴς τὸ παράδοξον ἔργον, ὃ ἐποίει ὁ γέρων,  
ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἐδόξασε τὸν Θεὸν τὸν παρέχοντα τοιαύτην ὑπο-  
μονὴν τῷ γέροντι οὕτως ὑπηρετεῖν τῷ λελωβημένῳ.

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56 ἔργον: θαῦμα M || ἐποίει: ἐποίησεν E || 58 λελωβημένον V

### *1. Abba Daniel from Sketis*

When the disciple saw the wondrous work which the elder was doing, he was astonished, and glorified God for giving such patience to the elder to care for the leper in such a way.

## 2. Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μάρκου τοῦ σαλοῦ

- Τούτῳ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ συνώκησεν ἀδελφὸς ὀνόματι Σέργιος  
ὀλίγον χρόνον, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ  
ἀββᾶ Σεργίου ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιὴλ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ  
5 παρρησίαν· ἡγάπα γὰρ αὐτόν.  
ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν λαμβάνει αὐτόν ὁ γέρων καὶ ἀνέρχεται  
εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· ἔθος γάρ ἐστι τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Σκήτεως  
ἀνέρχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πάπαν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἑορτῇ. καὶ ἔφθασαν εἰς  
τὴν πόλιν ὥς περὶ ὥραν ἐνδεκάτην, καὶ ὥς περιπατοῦσιν εἰς τὸν  
10 δρόμον, βλέπουσιν ἀδελφὸν γυμνὸν περιεζωσμένον καμψαρικὸν  
ἐπὶ τῶν ψυῶν αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκεῖνος προσποιούμενος τὸν  
σαλόν, καὶ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι σαλοί. καὶ περιῆγεν ὥς σαλὸς  
καὶ ἐξηχεύόμενος καὶ ἀρπάζων τὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ παρέχων τοῖς  
ἄλλοις σαλοῖς. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Μάρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἰππου. δημόσιον  
15 δέ ἐστιν ὁ Ἰππος. ἐκεῖ ἔκαμνεν ὁ Μάρκος ὁ σαλός, καὶ κατέλυεν  
ἐκατὸν νοῦμια τῆς ἡμέρας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκοιμᾶτο εἰς τὰ σκαμνία. ἐκ  
δὲ τῶν ἐκατὸν νουμίων ἡγόραζεν ἑαυτῷ ἀννώναν δώδεκα νουμίων,  
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρείχε τοῖς ἄλλοις σαλοῖς. πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πόλις  
ἐγνώριζε Μάρκον τὸν τοῦ Ἰππου διὰ τὴν ἐξηχίαν αὐτοῦ.  
20 λέγει δὲ ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· ὕπαγε ἴδε ποῦ καταλύει ὁ  
σαλὸς ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ἠρώτησε καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· εἰς τὸν  
Ἰππον, σαλὸς γάρ ἐστιν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ συντάξασθαι τῷ πάπῃ ὁ  
γέρων τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ εὔρε Μάρκον τὸν  
σαλὸν εἰς τὸ Τετράπυλον τὸ μέγα, καὶ δραμὼν ὁ γέρων ἐδράξατο  
25 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤρξατο κράζειν λέγων· ἄνδρες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, βοηθεῖτε.  
ὁ δὲ σαλὸς κατέπαιζε τοῦ γέροντος. συνήχθη δὲ πλῆθος πολὺ  
πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς εὐλαβηθεὶς ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστηκε, καὶ  
πάντες ἔλεγον τῷ γέροντι· μὴ πάσχε ὕβριν, σαλὸς ἐστιν. λέγει

E (des. mutil. post 15 Ἰππος) P M V

tit. Περὶ ... σαλοῦ: Μάρκος in marg. E iterum in summa pagina add. M om. V || 3  
τελευτὴν: κοίμησιν M || 6 ἀνέχεται M || 9 ἐνδεκάτην: ια' E || 11 ψυῶν scripsi  
secuta cod. Par. Coisl. 282: ὤμων E P M ὄμω V || 12–13 ὥς σαλὸς καὶ: ὁ σαλὸς E  
|| 15 ὁ σαλός: ὁ τοῦ Ἰππου P || 16 νοῦμια V || 17 ἐκατὸν: ρ' M V || ἀννώναν  
codd. || δώδεκα: δεκα P || 18 ἄλλοις om. V || 19 ἡγνώριζε codd. || 20 δὲ om. M  
|| 22 τὸ: τῷ M V || 24 ἔδραμον V || 25 βοηθῆτε V

## 2. Abba Mark the Fool

A brother named Sergios lived with this disciple of his for a short time, and then he fell asleep in the Lord. After the death of Abba Sergios, Abba Daniel granted his disciple freedom of speech, for he loved him.

One day the elder took the disciple and went up to Alexandria, for it is customary for the *hegumenos* of Sketis to visit the pope at the Great Feast. They arrived at the city towards the eleventh hour. As they were walking in the street, they saw a brother who was naked, wearing only a loincloth around his loins. This brother was pretending to be a fool, and with him were other fools. He went around like a fool and a madman snatching away things in the market and giving them to the other fools. He also bore the name Mark of the Hippos (the Hippos is a public bath). There Mark the Fool worked, and he earned one hundred *noummia* a day, and there he slept on the benches. Of the hundred *noummia*, he bought provisions for himself for twelve *noummia*; the rest he gave to the other fools. All the city knew Mark of the Hippos because of his insanity.

The elder said to his disciple: "Go and find out where that fool dwells." So he went and asked, and they said to him: "At the Hippos, for he is a fool." When the elder had taken leave of the pope, the next day, by the providence of God, he found Mark the Fool at the Great Tetrapylon. The elder ran up and grabbed him, and started screaming: "Men of Alexandria, help!" The fool was mocking the elder. A large crowd gathered around them. The disciple was standing cautiously at some distance, and everybody said to the elder: "Do not take offence! He is a fool." The elder said to them: "It is you who are the fools, for today I

αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων· ὑμεῖς ἐστε σαλοί· σήμερον γὰρ οὐχ εὖρον  
 30 ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ εἰ μὴ τοῦτον.

ἔφθασαν δὲ καὶ κληρικοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γνωρίζοντες τὸν  
 γέροντα, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· τί ποτέ σοι ἐποίησεν ὁ σαλὸς οὗτος;  
 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων· ἄρατέ μοι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πάπαν. καὶ  
 ἔλαβον αὐτόν. καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων τῷ πάπα· σήμερον ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 35 ταύτῃ σκεῦος τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ πάπας γνοὺς ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ ἐπληροφορήθη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ γέρων, ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς  
 πόδας τοῦ σαλοῦ, καὶ ἤρξατο ἐνορκίζειν αὐτὸν φανερῶσαι ἑαυτὸν  
 αὐτοῖς τίς ἐστιν.

ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὡμολόγησε λέγων ὅτι· μοναχὸς ἤμην καὶ  
 40 κατεκυριεύθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας ἔτη δεκαπέντε.  
 καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς ἑαυτὸν λέγω· Μάρκε, δεκαπέντε ἔτη ἐδούλευσας τῷ  
 ἐχθρῷ· δεῦρο τὰ ὅμοια δούλευσον τῷ Χριστῷ· καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ  
 Πέμπτον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινα ὀκτὼ ἔτη, καὶ μετὰ τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτη λέγω  
 ἑμαυτῷ· δεῦρο εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ποίησον σεαυτὸν σαλὸν  
 45 ἵνα λυτρωθῇς τῆς ἀμαρτίας σου· καὶ ἰδοὺ, σήμερον πληροῦνταί  
 μοι ἄλλα ὀκτὼ ἔτη τοῦ σαλοῦ. καὶ ἔκλαυσαν πάντες οἱ  
 ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεόν.

ἐκοιμήθη δὲ ὁ Μάρκος εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον μετὰ τοῦ γέροντος.  
 καὶ ὅτε πρῶτὸν ἐγένετο, λέγει ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· κάλεσόν  
 50 μοι τὸν ἀββᾶν Μάρκον, ὥστε ποιῆσαι ἡμῖν εὐχὴν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν  
 εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἡμῶν. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ μαθητὴς εὗρεν αὐτὸν  
 κοιμηθέντα ἐν Κυρίῳ. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἀνήγγειλε τῷ γέροντι ὅτι ὁ  
 ἀββᾶς Μάρκος ἐτελειώθη. ὁ δὲ γέρων ἀνήγγειλε τῷ πάπα, καὶ ὁ  
 πάπας τῷ στρατηλάτῃ, καὶ κελεύει ἄπρακτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ  
 55 πόλει. καὶ πέμπει ὁ γέρων τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν  
 λέγων· κρούσατε κροῦσμα, καὶ συνάξατε τοὺς πατέρας καὶ εἵπατε  
 αὐτοῖς· ἔλθετε ἵνα εὐλογηθῇτε ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος.

καὶ ἀνέβη πᾶσα ἡ Σκῆτις ἀσπροφοροῦντες μετὰ κλάδων καὶ  
 βαίτων, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ Ἑνατον, καὶ τὰ Κελλία, καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ὄρος  
 60 τῆς Νιτρίας, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ λαῦραι αἱ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὥστε

35 τοῦ om. M || 40 κατακυριεύθην P || δεκαπέντε: ιε' M V || 41 δεκαπέντε:  
 ιε' M V || 42 ἀπελθὼν M || 43 τὰ om. P || 45 τῆς: τὰς M V || 58 ἀσπροφοροῦν  
 V || 59 ἑννατον V || οἱ om. M



## *2. Abba Mark the Fool*

have not found a single man in this city other than this one.”

Then some clergy of the church, who knew the elder, also arrived and said to him: “What on earth has this fool done to you?” The elder said to them: “Take him to the pope for me.” And they apprehended him. The elder said to the pope: “Today in this city there is no such vessel.” Knowing that the elder had been informed by God about the man, the pope threw himself at the fool’s feet and besought him to reveal to them who he was.

Coming to himself, the fool confessed, saying: “I was a monk, and I was ruled by the demon of fornication for fifteen years. When I came to myself, I said: ‘Mark, for fifteen years you have served the enemy; now do the same for Christ.’ I went to Pempton and stayed there for eight years, and after eight years I said to myself: ‘Get yourself into the city and make yourself a fool, that you might be redeemed from your sin.’ And today another eight years as a fool have been fulfilled for me.” Everybody who heard it wept and glorified God.

Mark slept at the episcopal residence, as did the elder. In the early morning the elder said to his disciple: “Call Abba Mark for me, so that he can offer a prayer on our behalf that we may go to our cell.” The disciple went and found him asleep in the Lord. He came back and told the elder that Abba Mark was dead. The elder told the pope and the pope told the commander-in-chief, who ordered work to cease in the city. The elder sent his disciple to Sketis, saying: “Sound the signal and gather the fathers and say to them: ‘Come to be blessed by the elder.’”

The whole of Sketis came up, wearing white, carrying branches and palm-leaves, together with Enaton and Kellia and those of the mountain of Nitria and all the lavras around Alexandria, so that the remains were

τὸ λείψανον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας μὴ ταφῆναι, καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες  
ἐσμύρνισαν τὸ λείψανον τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρκου. καὶ οὕτως πᾶσα ἡ  
πόλις καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων δακρύων τὴν  
μέσσην ῥαντίζοντες ἐξεκόμισαν τὸ τίμιον λείψανον τοῦ μακαρίου  
65 Μάρκου τοῦ σαλοῦ, δοξάζοντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν φιλάνθρωπον  
Θεὸν τὸν διδόντα τοσαύτην χάριν καὶ δόξαν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν  
αὐτὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι.

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67 ἀμήν post αἰῶνι add. M

## ***2. Abba Mark the Fool***

unburied for five days, and they had to embalm the remains of the blessed Mark. In this way the entire city and the monks, with candles and incense, sprinkling the main street with tears, escorted the venerable remains of the blessed Mark the Fool out to be buried, glorifying and praising God, the lover of mankind, who endows those who love him with such grace and glory, now and in the age to come.

### 3. Περὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ ὁμμάτων

Ἄλλοτε πάλιν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τοῦ  
μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ θεωρεῖ ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ ὁμμάτων γυμνὸν  
καθήμενον εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν καὶ λέγοντα· δότε, ἐλεᾶτε. καὶ λέγει  
5 ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· βλέπεις τὸν ἀπὸ ὁμμάτων τοῦτον; λέγω  
σοι ὅτι μεγάλων μέτρων ἐστίν· θέλεις οὖν ὑποδείξω σοι τὰ περὶ  
αὐτοῦ; μείνον ἐνταῦθα. καὶ ἀπέρχεται ὁ γέρων καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ·  
ποίησον εἰς ἐμὲ ἀγάπην, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω πόθεν ἀγοράσαι μοι  
βαῖα τοῦ καμεῖν καὶ τραφῆναι. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀπὸ ὁμμάτων· τί  
10 εἶδες εἰς ἐμέ, ἀββᾶ; ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἐζήτησας γυμνὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ  
προσαίτην. ὅμως περίμεινον.

καὶ νεύει ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν. καὶ ἀπέρχονται  
εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Μάρκον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν τὸ κελλίον  
αὐτοῦ· καὶ λέγει τῷ γέροντι· περίμεινόν με, ἀββᾶ. καὶ εἰσέρχεται  
15 καὶ φέρει τῷ γέροντι μαλάκιν ἔχοντα σταφίδας, ῥόας, ἰσχάδας,  
καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ ἐν τριμήσιον δέδωκε τῷ γέροντι  
εἰπών· εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀββᾶ. καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ γέρων πρὸς τὸν  
μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ ἔκλαυσε λέγων· ἴδε, πόσους κρυπτοὺς δούλους  
ἔχει ὁ Θεός· ζῇ Κύριος, οὐ μὴ ἀποστρέψω τίποτε τῆς εὐλογίας  
20 τοῦ γέροντος, ὅτι ἀγάπη ἐστί.

μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας  
ἀκούουσιν ὅτι ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος πονεῖ τὸ ἥπαρ αὐτοῦ δεινῶς,  
καὶ ἀνάκειται εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Μάρκον. καὶ φαίνεται αὐτῷ ὁ  
ἅγιος Μάρκος ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· πέμψον καὶ φέρε  
25 τόνδε τὸν ἀπὸ ὁμμάτων, καὶ ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν  
τόπον τοῦ πόνου, καὶ ὑγιαίνεις. ὁ δὲ σπουδαίως πέμψας τοὺς  
ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας φέρει αὐτὸν μετὰ βίας. καὶ εὐξαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ  
ἐπιθέντος τὰς χεῖρας παραχρῆμα διεφορήθη ὁ πόνος. καὶ  
ἀκουστὸν ἐγένετο ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει.

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P M V

2 ια' ante Ἄλλοτε in marg. add. V || 5 τὸν: τῶν M V || τοῦτον: τούτων V || 6  
μεγάλων: lacunam habet M, μείζων supra lin. conl. M<sup>2</sup> || 15 καὶ post σταφίδας  
add. P || 19 ἐκ ante τῆς add. M || 24 Μάρκος om. P || πέμψω V

### 3. The Blind Man

Again, on another occasion Abba Daniel went up to Alexandria with his disciple. And he saw a man, blind and naked, sitting in the street and saying: "Give; be merciful!" The elder said to his disciple: "Do you see that blind man? I tell you, he is a person of great eminence. Would you like me to show you what kind of man he is? Wait here!" The elder went and said to him: "Do me a favour, brother, for I have no means to buy myself palm-leaves in order to work and feed myself." The blind man said to him: "Why did you look at me, abba? For in me you have found a naked man and a beggar. Nevertheless, wait here!"

And the elder signalled his disciple to follow the blind man, and they went off to Saint Mark's Outside-the-City; for there he had his cell. And he said to the elder: "Wait for me, Abba," and he went in and brought the elder a basket containing raisins, pomegranates and dried figs, and he took a *tremissis* from the fold of his garment and gave it to the elder and said: "Pray for me, abba." The elder went to his disciple and wept, saying: "Look, how many secret servants God has! As surely as the Lord lives, I will never dismiss any blessing of the elder, for this is love."

Some days later after they left him they heard that the Great Steward was suffering terribly from a liver disease, and that he was lying at Saint Mark's. And Saint Mark the apostle appeared to him and said to him: "Send for and bring the blind man, and he will lay his hand on the place where the pain is and you will be healed." Hurriedly he sent his servants, who brought the man, with force. When he had prayed and laid on his hands, the pain was suddenly dispelled, and this became known throughout the whole city.

- 30 καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ πάπας ἐξῆλθεν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἀπὸ ὀμμάτων, καὶ  
εὗρεν αὐτὸν τελειωθέντα ἐν Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἀκουστὸν ἐγένετο ἐν ὅλῃ  
τῇ Σκήτει. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ γέρων μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων  
πατέρων καὶ εὐλογήθησαν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου συναδελφοῦ.  
καὶ πᾶσα σχεδὸν ἡ πόλις ἐξῆλθε καὶ εὐλογηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
35 ἐξεκόμισαν μετὰ ὕμνων καὶ δοξολογίας τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ  
λείψανον. καὶ κατέθηκαν αὐτὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μάρκου τοῦ διὰ  
Θεὸν σαλοῦ. ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἦν· εἴ τι ἐδέχετο ἀγάπην,  
ἡγόραζεν ἐξ αὐτῶν μῆλα, σταφίδας, ῥόας, καὶ ἐρόγευε δι' ἄλλου  
τινὸς ἐν τοῖς ξενῶσι τοῖς ἀρρώστοις κατὰ κυριακὴν.  
40 τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ δὲ ἔτη ἐκτήσατο τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην τῆς  
διακονίας εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ.

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35 μετὰ: lacunam habet M, μετὰ in marg. conl. M<sup>2</sup>

### ***3. The Blind Man***

When the patriarch heard of it, he went to see the blind man and found him asleep in the Lord. This became known all over Sketis. The elder went up with his disciple and some others of the fathers, and they received a blessing from their blessed fellow brother.

And almost the entire city went out and, having received a blessing from him, they escorted his venerable remains out to be buried with hymns and glory. They laid him on top of Abba Mark the Fool for God's sake. Such was his life: whenever he received charity, he used it to buy apples, raisins, and pomegranates, which he would distribute, by somebody else's hand, to the sick in the hospitals on Sundays. He kept up this virtuous service for forty-eight years, to the glory of God.

#### 4Α. Περὶ ἀγίας καὶ σώφρονος κόρης

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἀνέβη εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν  
μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διατριβόντων αὐτῶν ἐκεῖσε γέγονε  
πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον. ἀββᾶς τις τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Ἀλεξανδρείας  
5 ἔσχεν υἱόν, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσχε γυναῖκα κόρην ὡς ἐτῶν δέκα  
καὶ ὀκτώ. καὶ ἔμενε μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
ἀλιεύς. ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν διάβολος ἤγειρε πόλεμον  
σαρκικὸν τῷ ἀββᾷ πρὸς τὴν νύμφην αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν  
τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐχ εὔρισκεν. ἤρξατο οὖν  
10 καταφιλεῖν αὐτὴν συνεχῶς, καὶ ἡ κόρη ἠνείχετο αὐτοῦ ὡς  
πατρός.

ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦλθον οἱ ἀλιεῖς τάχιον καὶ κράζουσι τὸν  
νεώτερον ἵνα ἀπελθόντες ἀλιεύσωσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν  
νεώτερον ἀνέστη ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν νύμφην αὐτοῦ, ἡ δὲ  
15 κόρη λέγει αὐτῷ· τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὕπαγε κατασφράγισαι σεαυτόν·  
διαβολικὸν γάρ ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀπελθεῖν· καὶ  
πολλὰ πυκτεύσας, οὐκ ἠνείχετο αὐτοῦ ἡ κόρη. ἐκρέμετο οὖν τὸ  
σπαθίον τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐπάνωθεν τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ· καὶ θέλων  
αὐτὴν φοβερίσαι, γυμνοῖ τὸ σπαθίον λέγων αὐτῇ· ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσης  
20 μου, ἀποθνήσκεις. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐὰν δεῖ με μέλος μέλος γενέσθαι,  
οὐ μὴ σε ἀκούσω. καὶ πέμπει ἄφνω τὸ ξίφος, καὶ κατασπᾷ τῇ  
κόρῃ κατὰ τῶν ψυῶν καὶ ἐδιχοτόμησεν αὐτήν. καὶ εὐθέως  
ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός, (14vb) καὶ περιῆγε ζητῶν τὴν θύραν καὶ  
οὐχ ἠῤῥισκεν.

25 ἔρχονται οὖν ἄλλοι ἀλιεῖς περὶ τὸ διάφαιμα ζητοῦντες τὸν  
νεώτερον, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἀπῆλθεν ἀλιεύειν· ποῦ οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ  
θύρα, ὅτι οὐ βλέπω αὐτήν; καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἴδε, ποῦ ἐστὶ. καὶ  
εἰσελθόντες βλέπουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ λέγουσι· τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
πρᾶγμα; καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· κρατήσατέ με, ὅτι φόνον ἐποίησα. καὶ  
30 ἀκούσαντες παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῷ

P

19 γυμνοῖ scripsi secuta cod. Par. Coisl. 282: γυμνεῖ cod. || 20 ἀποθνήσκης cod. ||  
δεῖ scripsi secuta cod. Par. Coisl. 282: δῆ cod. || 21–22 τῇ κόρῃ: fortasse scrib. τὴν  
κόρην sec. cod. Par. Coisl. 282



## 4A. A Holy and Chaste Young Woman

Another time, the same Abba Daniel again went up to Alexandria with his disciple, and while they were there the following happened. An abba at Oktokaidekaton near Alexandria had a son, and the son had a wife, a young woman of about eighteen years old. The abba lived with his son. The son was a fisherman. The enemy of our souls, the devil, incited the abba to physical desire for his daughter-in-law. He looked for an opportunity to have intercourse with her, but he did not find one. Then he began to kiss her frequently, and the young woman put up with him, as with a father.

One day the fishermen came earlier, calling for the young man to go fishing. When the young man had left, his father rose up against his daughter-in-law, and the young woman said to him: "What are you doing? Go and make the sign of the cross upon yourself, for the deed is of the devil." But he did not want to go away. He punched her many times with his fists, but the young woman did not yield to him. Now the young man's sword was hanging above his bed. Wishing to frighten her, he drew the sword out and said to her: "If you do not obey me, you will die." She said: "Even if I am to be torn limb by limb, I will never obey you." And all of a sudden he attacked with the sword and struck the young woman in the loins and cut her up. God instantly struck him blind; he groped around looking for the door, but he could not find it.

Some other fishermen came at daybreak in search of the young man, and the father said to them: "He has gone fishing; but where is the door, for I cannot see it?" They said to him: "Look for yourself, where it is!" They went in and saw the deed and said: "What is it that has happened?" He said to them: "Seize me, for I have committed a murder." They heard <the story> from him, seized him and handed him over to the governor.

ἄρχοντι. καὶ ἐξετάσας αὐτὸν ὁ ἄρχων καὶ γνοὺς ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐκόλασεν αὐτόν.

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· ἄγωμεν ἴδωμεν τὸ λείψανον τῆς κόρης. καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ  
35 Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤκουσαν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων· ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, οὐ μὴ ταφῇ τὸ λείψανον αὐτῆς εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐγόγγυζον. λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων· αὕτη ἀμμᾶς ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστίν· αὕτη περὶ σωφροσύνης ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ συμμονα-  
40 χὸς ἡμῶν περὶ ὀδύνης ἐκοιμήθη. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἠναντιώθη τῷ γέροντι, καὶ ἔθαψαν τὴν κόρην μετὰ τῶν πατέρων. καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ γέρων σὺν τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν.

Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀδελφὸς εἰς Σκῆτιν ἐπολεμήθη εἰς πορνείαν, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἀνήγγειλε τῷ γέροντι. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ  
45 γέρων· ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον καὶ παράμεινον ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιμητηρίου τῶν πατέρων καὶ εἰπέ· ὁ Θεὸς Θωμαΐδος, βοήθει μοι. καὶ ἐλπίζω εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὅτι (15ra) ἀπαλλαγῇσιν τοῦ πολέμου.

ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἐποίησεν ὡς συνέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων. καὶ ἐλθὼν μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας λέγει τῷ γέροντι· διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ <καὶ> τῶν  
50 εὐχῶν σου ἠλευθερώθην τοῦ πολέμου. λέγει αὐτῷ· πῶς; καὶ εἶπε· μόνον ἐποίησα δώδεκα μετανοίας καὶ ἔθηκα ἐμαυτὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ κοιμητηρίου τῶν πατέρων, καὶ ἦλθε μία κόρη καὶ λέγει μοι· λάβε τὴν εὐλογίαν ταύτην καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου· καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι, φησίν, εὐλογίας τρεῖς, καὶ λαβὼν εὐθέως ἐκουφίσθην.

55 τοιαύτην οὖν παρρησίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ διὰ σωφροσύνην ἀποθνήσκοντες, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν στεφανούμενοι. ἀμήν.

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47 ἀπαλλαγῇσει cod. || 49 καὶ supplevi secuta cod. Par. Coisl. 282: om. cod.

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55 παρρησίαν ἔχουσιν: cf. 1 Joh. 2:28; 4:17

#### *4A. A Holy and Chaste Young Woman*

The governor examined him and when he had learned what he had done, he punished him.

Afterwards, Abba Daniel said to his disciple: "Let us go and see the body of the young woman." They went to Oktokaidekaton near Alexandria, and the fathers heard it and went out to meet him. The elder said to them: "As surely as the Lord my God lives, her body is to be buried nowhere else but with the fathers." Many grumbled. But the elder said to them: "That woman is my amma, and yours. She died for the sake of chastity, but our fellow monk has fallen asleep because of his tribulation." Then nobody opposed the elder, and they buried the young woman with the fathers. And the elder returned to Sketis with his disciple.

One day a brother of Sketis was being attacked by the sin of lust, and he went and told the elder. The elder said to him: "Go to Oktokaidekaton and sit down on top of the tomb of the fathers and say: 'Oh God of Thomaïs, help me!' For I have faith in God that you will be set free from the attacks."

The brother did as the elder had told him. Three days later he came and said to the elder: "Thanks to God and to your prayers I have been liberated from the attacks." The elder said to him: "How?" The brother said: "I had just prostrated myself twelve times and laid down on top of the tomb of the fathers when a young woman came and said to me: 'Receive this blessing and go to your cell.' She gave me three blessings, he continued, and as soon as I received them, I was relieved."

Such confidence have they who struggle for the sake of God and those who die for the sake of chastity, being crowned in Jesus Christ, our Lord! Amen!

## 4B. Περὶ ἀγίας τινὸς καὶ σώφρονος κόρης

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἀνέβη εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν  
μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διατριβόντων αὐτῶν ἐκεῖσε γέγονε  
πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον. ἀββᾶς τις τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Ἀλεξανδρείας  
5 ἔσχεν υἱόν· καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσχε γυναῖκα κόρην ὡς ἐτῶν δέκα  
καὶ ὀκτώ. καὶ ἔμενεν μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
ἀλιεύς. ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν διάβολος ἤγειρε πόλεμον  
σαρκικὸν τῷ ἀββᾷ πρὸς τὴν νύμφην αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν  
τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐχ εὔρισκεν. ἤρξατο οὖν  
10 καταφιλεῖν αὐτὴν συνεχῶς, καὶ ἡ κόρη ἠνείχετο αὐτοῦ ὡς  
πατρός.

ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦλθον ἀλιεῖς ἐννύχιον καὶ κράζουσι τὸν  
νεώτερον ἵνα ἀπελθόντες ἀλιεύσωσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸν  
νεώτερον ἀνέστη ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς κόρης, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ  
15 ἡ κόρη· τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάτερ; ὕπαγε κατασφράγισαι· διαβολικὸν  
γάρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο ἀπελθεῖν· καὶ πολλὰ  
πυκτεύσας, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο αὐτοῦ ἡ κόρη. ἐκρέματο οὖν ἐπάνω τοῦ  
κραββάτου τὸ σπαθίον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ θέλων αὐτὴν  
φοβερίσαι, γυμνοῖ τὸ σπαθίον κατ' αὐτῆς λέγων· ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσης  
20 μου, μετὰ τοῦ σπαθίου τούτου δίδω σε. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐὰν δεῖ  
με μέλος καὶ μέλος γενέσθαι, τὸ παράνομον πρᾶγμα τοῦτο  
οὐδέποτε ποιῶ. καὶ ὀργισθεὶς μετὰ θυμοῦ πέμπει ἄφνω τὸ  
σπαθίον κατακυριευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ κατασπᾷ τὴν  
κόρην κατὰ τῶν αὐτῆς ψυῶν καὶ διχοτομεῖ αὐτήν. καὶ εὐθέως  
25 ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός, καὶ περιῆγε ζητῶν τὴν θύραν καὶ οὐχ  
εὔρισκεν.

ἔρχονται οὖν ἄλλοι ἀλιεῖς ζητοῦντες τὸν νεώτερον εἰς τὸ  
διάφαιμα, καὶ βαλόντες αὐτῷ φωνήν, ἀπεκρίθη ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ·

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M V

**tit.** Περὶ ... κόρης: in marg. iterum (ἀγίας τινὸς in τινος ἀγίας transpositis) add.  
M τῆς ἀγίας τινὸς σώφρονος κόρης V || 2 ιβ' ante Ὁ αὐτὸς in marg. add. V ||  
'Αλεξανδρείας om. V || 6 καὶ<sup>2</sup> ... αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> om. V || 8 τῷ ἀββᾷ om. V || 12  
ἐννυχον V || 15 κατασφράγιζε V || 18 τὸ σπαθίον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ: τοῦ υἱοῦ  
αὐτοῦ (in marg. add.) τὸ σπαθίον αὐτοῦ M || 20 δίδω: διώκο M || 21 τοῦτο in  
marg. M || 24 ψυῶν scripsi secuta P: ψῶν V ὤμων M

## 4B. A Holy and Chaste Young Woman

Another time, the same Abba Daniel again went up to Alexandria with his disciple, and while they were there something like this happened. An abba at Oktokaidekaton near Alexandria had a son, and the son had a wife, a young woman of about eighteen years old. The abba lived with his son. The son was a fisherman. The enemy of our souls, the devil, incited the abba to physical desire for his daughter-in-law. He looked for an opportunity to have intercourse with her, but he did not find any. Then he began to kiss her frequently, and the young woman put up with him, as with a father.

One day some fishermen came by night, calling for the young man to go fishing. When the young man had left, his father rose up against the young woman, and she said to him: "What are you doing, father? Go and make the sign of the cross, for this act is of the devil." But he could not abide to go away. He punched her many times with his fists, but the young woman did not yield to him. Now above the bed his son's sword was hanging. Wishing to frighten her, he drew the sword out against her and said: "If you do not obey me, I will smite you with this sword." She said to him: "Even if I am to be torn limb by limb, I will never do that unrighteous act." Raving with anger, all of a sudden he attacked with the sword and, being under the sway of the Devil, he struck the young woman in the loins and cut her up. God instantly struck him blind; he groped around looking for the door, but he could not find it.

Some other fishermen came at daybreak in search of the young man, and when they shouted for him, his father answered: "He has gone

30 ὑπάγει ἀλιεῦσαι· ποῦ οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ θύρα, ὅτι οὐ βλέπω; καὶ ἀνοίξαντες βλέπουσι τὸ πτώμα, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· κρατήσατέ με καὶ παράδοτε τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὅτι φόνον πεποίηκα. καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ὁ ἄρχων ἐξετάσας καὶ μαθὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν βασανίσας ἐκόλασεν αὐτόν.

35 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· ἀπέλθωμεν καὶ ἴδωμεν τὸ λείψανον τῆς κόρης. καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ Ὁκτωκαιδέκατον Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤκουσαν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πατέρες τοῦ Ὁκτωκαιδεκάτου, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ, καὶ ἐξῆλθον εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων· ποιήσατε εὐχήν, 40 πατέρες. οὐ γὰρ θάπτεται τῆς κόρης ταύτης τὸ λείψανον εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων. καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυζον, ὥς ὅτι γυναικὸς λείψανον ἐπιτρέπει θάπτεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων, καὶ αὐτῆς φονευθείσης. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων· αὕτη ἡ κόρη ἀμμᾶς μου καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ περὶ σωφροσύνης ἀπέθανεν. τότε 45 λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν τῷ γέροντι, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων. καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς πατέρας ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ γέρων σὺν τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν.

ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀδελφὸς ἐπολεμήθη ἐν τῇ Σκῆτει ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας, καὶ ἐνοχλούμενος σφοδρῶς ἐλθὼν 50 ἀνήγγειλε τῷ γέροντι. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ Ὁκτωκαιδέκατον Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ παράμεινον ἐπάνω τοῦ κοιμητηρίου τῶν πατέρων καὶ εἰπέ· ὁ Θεὸς Θωμαΐδος, βοήθησόν μοι καὶ ῥῦσαί με ἐκ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς πορνείας. καὶ ἐλπίζω εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὅτι ἀπαλλάσσει ἐκ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τούτου.

55 ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς λαβὼν τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχήν τοῦ γέροντος ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ Ὁκτωκαιδέκατον καὶ ἐποίησεν καθὼς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων. καὶ ἐπανελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν προσπίπτει εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ γέροντος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν σου, πάτερ, ἠλευθερώθην τοῦ πολέμου τῆς

30 ἀνοίξαντες: ἀναζάντες M || 35 ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ: ὁ γέρων V || 48 τῇ om. M || 53 μοι: με V || 55 τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχήν in τὴν εὐχήν καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν transp. V

#### ***4B. A Holy and Chaste Young Woman***

fishing; but where is the door, for I cannot see?" They opened it and saw the dead body. He said to them: "Seize me and hand me over to the governor, for I have committed a murder." They took him and handed him over to the governor of the city. The governor examined him and when he had learned the whole truth from him, he tortured him and punished him.

Afterwards, Abba Daniel said to his disciple: "Let us go and see the body of the young woman." They went to Oktokaidekaton near Alexandria, and the fathers of Oktokaidekaton heard that Abba Daniel was coming, and they went out to meet him. The elder said to them: "Offer a prayer, fathers, for the body of the young woman is to be buried nowhere else but with the fathers." Some of them grumbled and said: "He allows the body of a woman to be buried with the fathers, even though she has been murdered!" But the elder said to them: "That woman is my amma, and yours, for she died for the sake of chastity." Then nobody spoke against the elder, and they buried her with the fathers. And the elder said farewell to the fathers and returned to Sketis with his disciple.

One day a brother of Sketis was being attacked by the demon of lust, and in his severe affliction he went and told the elder. The elder said to him: "Go to Oktokaidekaton near Alexandria and settle down on top of the tomb of the fathers and say: 'God of Thomaïs, help me and deliver me from the temptation of lust!' For I have faith in God that you will be set free from this temptation."

The brother accepted the demand and the prayer of the elder, and went to Oktokaidekaton and did as the elder had told him. When he returned to Sketis, he fell to the elder's feet and said to him: "Thanks to God and to your prayers, father, I have been set free from the attacks of lust."

- 60 πορνείας. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· πῶς ἠλευθερώθης; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ  
ἀδελφός· μόνον ἐποίησα δώδεκα μετανοίας καὶ ἔθηκα ἐμαυτὸν  
ἐπάνω τοῦ κοιμητηρίου καὶ ἀφύπνωσα, καὶ ἔρχεται μία κόρη καὶ  
λέγει μοι· ἀββᾶ, λάβε τὴν εὐλογίαν ταύτην καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ  
κελλίον σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν εὐλογίαν εὐθέως ἐκουφίσθην  
65 τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι ἠλευθερώθην. τί δὲ ἦν ἡ εὐλογία οὐκ  
οἶδα. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· τοιαύτην ἔχουσιν παρρησίαν πρὸς  
Θεὸν οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς σωφροσύνης.

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**58** προσπίπτει: προσπείπει V || **61** ἐμαυτῷ V

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**66–67** ἔχουσιν ... Θεὸν: cf. 1 Joh. 3:21; 5:14



#### ***4B. A Holy and Chaste Young Woman***

The elder said to him: “How were you set free?” The brother said to him: “I had just prostrated myself twelve times, and laid down on top of the tomb of the fathers, when I fell asleep, and a young woman came and said to me: ‘Abba, receive this blessing and go to your cell in peace.’ And as soon as I received the blessing, I was relieved from the attacks, and I knew that I had been set free. What the blessing was, I do not know.” The elder said to him: “Those who struggle for the sake of chastity have such confidence in God!”

## 5. Περὶ τῆς προσποιουμένης μεθύειν

Ἀνέβη ποτὲ ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκήτεως μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν Θηβαΐδι τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλῶ, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ὅλοι οἱ πατέρες εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ 5 σημείων ἑπτὰ· ἦσαν δὲ ὡσεὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄμμου ἠπλωμένους ἐπὶ κοιλίαν ὡς ἐν τάξει ἀγγέλων μετὰ φόβου δεχομένων τὸν Χριστόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἐστρώννουν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὰ κουκούλια ἑαυτῶν, τὴν γῆν τοῖς δάκρυσιν βρέχοντες· καὶ ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης προσε- 10 κύνησεν ἑπτάκις πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ γέροντος· καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐκάθισαν, καὶ παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι λόγον παρ' αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ταχέως ἐλάλει τινί.

ὡς οὖν ἐκάθισαν ἔξω τοῦ κοινοβίου ἐπὶ τῆς ἄμμου, οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρει αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐκκλησία, λέγει ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ τῷ μαθητῇ 15 αὐτοῦ· γράψον· εἰ θέλετε σωθῆναι, διώξατε τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην καὶ τὴν σιωπὴν· εἰς γὰρ τὰς δύο ἀρετὰς ταύτας ὅλος ὁ βίος τῶν μοναχῶν κρέμαται. καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκε τινὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰ γράμματα, καὶ μεθερμήνευσεν αὐτὰ αἰγυπτιστί. καὶ ὡς ἀνεγνώσθησαν τοῖς πατράσιν, ἔκλαυσαν πάντες, καὶ προέπεμπον 20 τὸν γέροντα κλαίοντες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐτόλμα εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· ποιήσον ἀγάπην.

καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν λέγει τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· ὕπαγε κροῦσον εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ εἰπὲ ὅτι ὧδέ εἰμι. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοναστήριον γυναικῶν λεγόμενον τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἱερεμίου, ἐν ᾧ 25 οἰκοῦσιν ὡς τριακόσiai ἀδελφαί. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκρουσεν. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ θυρωρὸς λεπτῇ τῇ φωνῇ· σωθείης·

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M V

2 ιγ' ante Ἀνέβη in marg. add. V || 17 κρέματε et -αι supra lin. add. M || 19 τοῖς et aliquot litteras, quas legere nequeo ante τοῖς πατράσιν lin. eras. ut videtur M || 19–20 καὶ ... κλαίοντες om. M || 23–24 καὶ ... μοναστήριον ex homoeoteleut. om. V || 25 αὐτοῦ om. V

7–8 οἱ μὲν ... αὐτοῦ: cf. Mt. 21:8; Mc. 11:8; Lc. 19:36 || 16–17 εἰς γὰρ ... κρέμαται: cf. Mt. 22:40

## 5. The Woman Who Pretended to Be a Drunkard

Once Abba Daniel went up from Sketis together with his disciple to the Upper Thebaid for the feast day of Abba Apollo, and all the fathers at a distance of about seven miles went out to meet him. They were about five thousand, and one could see them lying face down on the sand like angels receiving Christ with fear. Some spread their garments before him, others their cowls, wetting the ground with their tears. The archimandrite came out and prostrated seven times before the elder. When they had greeted each other, they sat down, and they asked him to let them hear a word from him, for he did not readily speak to anybody.

When they had sat down on the sand outside the community—for the church had not enough room for them—Abba Daniel said to his disciple: “Write down: ‘If you wish to be saved, pursue poverty and silence, for on these two virtues depends the entire monastic life.’” His disciple gave the writing to one of the brothers and he translated it into Egyptian. As it was read out to the fathers, they all wept; and in tears they escorted the elder off weeping, for nobody dared to say to him: “Please stay!”

When he came to Hermopolis, he said to his disciple: “Go and knock at that monastery and tell them that I am here.” There was a women’s monastery there called Abba Jeremiah’s, where about three hundred sisters are living. The disciple went and knocked, and the portress said to him in a faint voice: “Greetings; welcome; what do you want?” He said to

καλῶς ἦλθες· τί κελεύεις; καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· φώνει μοι τὴν ἀμμᾶν  
τὴν ἀρχιμανδρίτην· θέλω αὐτῇ λαλῆσαι. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐ  
συντυγχάνει τινί ποτε, ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι τί κελεύεις καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ.  
30 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· εἰπέ αὐτῇ· μοναχός τις θέλει σοι λαλῆσαι. ἡ δὲ  
ἀπελθοῦσα εἶπεν αὐτῇ. καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ ἡγουμένη λέγει αὐτῷ· τί  
κελεύεις; λέγει ὁ ἀδελφός· ἵνα ποιήσητε ἀγάπην καὶ κοιμηθῶ ὧδε  
μετὰ ἐνὸς γέροντος, ὅτι ἐσπέρα ἐστί, μήποτε φάγωσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ  
θηρία. λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ ἀμμᾶς· συμφέρει ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξω θηρίων  
35 βρωθῆναι καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔσω. ὧδε γὰρ οὐδέποτε ἀνὴρ εἰσέρχεται·  
λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἀδελφός· ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς Σκήτεως. ἡ δὲ  
ἀκούσασα ἤνοιξε τοὺς πυλῶνας καὶ ἐξῆλθε τρέχουσα, ὁμοίως δὲ  
καὶ πᾶσα ἡ συνοδία, καὶ τὰ μαφόρια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
πυλῶνος ἕως κάτω ὅπου ἦν ὁ γέρων, κυλιόμεναι εἰς τοὺς πόδας  
40 αὐτοῦ καὶ λείχουσαι τὰ ἵχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

καὶ εἰσελθόντων αὐτῶν ἔσω εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἤνεγκεν ἡ  
ἀμμᾶς λεκάνην καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτὴν χλιαροῦ καὶ βοτανῶν. καὶ  
ἔστησε τὰς ἀδελφὰς δύο χορούς, καὶ ἔνιψε τοὺς πόδας τοῦ  
γέροντος καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ λαβοῦσα καυκίον ἐλάβανεν  
45 ἐκ τῆς λεκάνης καὶ ἐξέχυνεν εἰς τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν.  
ὕστερον δὲ ἐξέχεεν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς κόλπον καὶ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν.  
ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτὰς πάσας ὡς ἐπὶ λίθων ἀκινήτων ἀλάλους· διὰ  
κρούσματος δὲ πᾶσα ἡ ἀπόκρισις αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο· λέγει οὖν ὁ  
γέρων τῇ ἡγουμένῃ· ἡμᾶς εὐλαβοῦνται ἢ οὕτως εἰσὶ πάντοτε αἱ  
50 ἀδελφαί; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· πάντοτε οὕτως εἰσὶν αἱ δοῦλαί σου,  
δέσποτα· ἀλλ' εὕξαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. λέγει ὁ γέρων· εἰπέ τῷ μαθητῇ  
μου ὅτι ὡς Γότθος μοι ἐπέρχεται.

μία δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔκειτο εἰς τὸ μέσαυλον κοιμωμένη περιε-  
σχισμένη καὶ ῥακοφοροῦσα. καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· τίς ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ  
55 κοιμωμένη; λέγει αὐτῷ· μία τῶν ἀδελφῶν. μεθύστριά ἐστὶν, καὶ τί  
ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν οὐκ οἶδαμεν· καὶ ἐκβάλλει αὐτὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου  
φοβούμεθα τὸ κρίμα. καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴν ἐάσωμεν, ἐκβολίζει τὰς

27 καὶ om. V || λέγω M || 30 αὐτῇ: αὐτήν M || λαλεῖσαι codd. || 35 ἀνὴρ ante οὐδέποτε transp. M || 41 ἔσω om. V || 43 νίψε V || 45 ἐξέχυνεν V || 52 Γότθω V || 56 ἐκβάλε M || 57 ἐκβολίζει: ἐκβολίζη M ἐμβολίζει conl. Pap.-Ker.

## 5. *The Woman Who Pretended to Be a Drunkard*

her: "Call the mother archimandrite for me! I wish to speak with her." She said: "She never meets with anybody; but tell me what you want and I will tell her." He said: "Tell her: 'A monk wishes to speak with you.'"

She went and told her. The *hegumene* came and said to him: "What do you want?" The brother said: "That you would do us the favour of letting me sleep here, and also an elder, so that the wild beasts do not eat us, for it is evening." The amma said to him: "It is better for you to be devoured by the wild beasts outside than by those inside, for no man ever comes in here." The brother said to her: "It is Abba Daniel of Sketis." When she heard this, she opened the gates and came running out, and so did the whole community, and they spread out their veils from the gate down to where the elder was, grovelling at his feet and licking his footsteps.

When they came into the monastery, the amma brought a basin and filled it with warm water and herbs. She drew up the sisters in two groups and washed the elder's feet and his disciple's. She took a cup and took <water> from the basin and poured it on the sisters' heads. Then she poured it on her own breast and head. One could see them all being silent as is the case of immovable stones. All their communication was done by a signal. The elder said to the *hegumene*: "Are they honouring us, or are the sisters always like this?" She said: "Your servants are always like this, master, but pray for them." The elder said: "Tell my disciple that he is attacking me like a Goth."

One of the them lay sleeping in the courtyard, dressed in rags and tattered clothes. The elder said: "Who is this one sleeping?" The *hegumene* said to him: "She is one of the sisters. She is a drunkard, and we do not know what to do with her. We fear the judgement to throw her out of the monastery, and if we leave her here, she offends the sisters."

ἀδελφάς. λέγει ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· λάβε τὴν λεκάνην καὶ  
 βάλε ἐπάνω αὐτῆς. τοῦ δὲ ποιήσαντος οὕτως, ἀνέστη ὡς ἀπὸ  
 60 μέθης. λέγει οὖν ἡ ἀμμᾶς· δέσποτα, πάντοτε οὕτως ἐστίν.

καὶ λαβοῦσα τὸν γέροντα εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἀριστήριον καὶ  
 ἐποίησε δεῖπνον ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς λέγουσα· εὐλόγησον τὰς δούλας  
 σου, ἵνα ἔμπροσθέν σου γεύσονται. ὁ δὲ εὐλόγησεν αὐτάς. αὕτη  
 δὲ καὶ ἡ δευτεραρία μόναι ἐκαθέσθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ τῷ μὲν  
 65 γέροντι παρέθηκε βαυκάλιον ἔχον βρεκτὰ καὶ ὠμὰ λάχανα καὶ  
 φοινίκια καὶ ὕδωρ· τῷ δὲ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ φακὴν ἐκζεστὴν καὶ  
 μικρὸν ψωμίον καὶ εὐκρατον· ταῖς δὲ ἀδελφαῖς παρετέθησαν  
 φαγία πολλά· ἰχθύες καὶ οἶνος εἰς πλησμονήν· καὶ ἔφαγον πάνυ  
 καλῶς καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐλάλησεν.

70 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτοὺς λέγει ὁ γέρων τῇ ἡγουμένῃ· τί  
 ἐστὶν ὃ ἐποίησας; ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὠφείλαμεν φαγεῖν καλῶς, καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 τὰ καλὰ ἐφάγετε. λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· σὺ μοναχὸς εἶ, καὶ τροφήν  
 μοναχοῦ παρέθηκά σοι, καὶ ὁ μαθητῆς σου μαθητῆς μοναχοῦ  
 ἐστὶν, καὶ μαθητοῦ τροφήν παρέθηκα αὐτῷ· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρχαρίαι  
 75 ἐσμεν, καὶ τροφήν ἀρχαρίων ἐφάγομεν. λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ γέρων·  
 μνησθεὶς ἡ ἀγάπη· ὧντως ὠφελήθημεν.

ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναπαῆναι λέγει ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ  
 αὐτοῦ· ὕπαγε βλέπε ποῦ κοιμᾶται ἡ μεθύστρια ὅπου εἰς τὸ  
 μεσίαυλον ἔκειτο. καὶ ἀπέρχεται καὶ βλέπει, καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ  
 80 λέγει αὐτῷ ὅτι· κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν σωτηρίων. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ  
 γέρων· γρηγόρησον μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην. καὶ ὅτε ἐκοιμή-  
 θησαν πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαί, λαμβάνει ὁ γέρων τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ κατέρχεται ὀπίσω τοῦ σιφαρίου, καὶ θεωροῦσι τὴν μεθύστριαν  
 ὅτι ἀνέστη καὶ ἐπέτασε τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τὰ  
 85 δάκρυα αὐτῆς ὡς ποταμός, καὶ τὰς μετανοίας ἐποίει ἕως τοῦ  
 ἐδάφους, καὶ ὅτε ἤσθάνετο ἀδελφὴν ἐρχομένην εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα  
 ἔρριπτεν ἑαυτὴν χαμαὶ ῥέγχουσα. οὕτως διετέλει πάσας τὰς  
 ἡμέρας αὐτῆς. λέγει οὖν ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· φώνησόν μοι

65 ἔχον: ἔχων M ἔχοντα V || 67 ψωμίον V || ἀδελφές M || 68 οἶνον V ||  
 71–72 καὶ ... ἐφάγετε om. V || 81 νύκταν M

81 γρηγόρησον μετ' ἐμοῦ: cf. Mt. 26:38

### 5. *The Woman Who Pretended to Be a Drunkard*

The elder said to his disciple: "Get the basin and pour <water> over her." When he had done this, she got up as from drunkenness. The amma said: "She is always like this, master."

The amma went with the elder into the refectory. She prepared the meal for the sisters and said: "Bless your servants that they might eat in front of you." And he blessed them. Only she and the second sister in command sat with them. To the elder she served a bowl containing soaked pulse, raw vegetables, dates and water, and to his disciple boiled lentils, a small piece of bread and watered wine. To the sisters a lot of food was served, fish and wine in abundance. They ate very well, and nobody spoke.

When they had risen, the elder said to the *hegumene*: "What is it you have done? We should have eaten well, but it was you who ate the fine food." She said to him: "You are a monk and to you I served a monk's food. Your disciple is a monk's disciple and to him I served a disciple's food. We, however, are novices, and we ate novices' food." The elder said to her: "May your love be remembered; we have indeed benefited!"

As they were going to rest, the elder said to his disciple: "Go and see where the drunkard is sleeping, she who was lying in the courtyard." He went and looked and came and said to him: "By the privy." The elder said to him: "Stay awake with me this night." When all the sisters had fallen asleep, the elder went with his disciple behind the screen, and they saw that the drunkard had got up and stretched her hands to heaven. Her tears were like a river, and in repentance, she prostrated herself on the ground. When she noticed that a sister was approaching the privy, she threw herself to the ground and snored. This was how she spent all her days. The elder said to his disciple: "Quietly call the *hegumene* for me."

90 τὴν ἡγουμένην εὐφυῶς. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐφώνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν  
 δευτεραρίαν, καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἔβλεπον ἃ ἐποίει. ἡ δὲ ἡγουμένη  
 ἔκλαιε λέγουσα· ὦ πόσα κακὰ ἐνεδειξάμην αὐτῇ.

καὶ ὅτε ἔκρουσεν τὸ κροῦσμα, θρύλλος ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς  
 τὴν ἀδελφότητα. καὶ ἔγνω αὐτὴ καὶ ἀπέρχεται εὐφυῶς ὅπου ἦν  
 κοιμώμενος ὁ γέρων, καὶ κλέπτει τὸ ῥαβδίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ  
 95 ἐπιρριπτάριν, καὶ ἀνοίγει τὴν θύραν τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ γράφει  
 πιττάκιον καὶ βάλλει εἰς τὸ κλείδωμα τῆς θύρας λέγουσα·  
 εὐξασθε καὶ συγχωρήσατέ μοι εἴ τι ἔπταισα εἰς ὑμᾶς. καὶ  
 ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο.

καὶ ὅτε ἡμέρα ἐγένετο ἐζήτησαν αὐτὴν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον. καὶ  
 100 ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα, καὶ εὕρισκουσιν ἀνεωγμένην τὴν  
 θύραν καὶ τὸ πιττάκιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ γίνεται κλαυθμὸς μέγας ἐν  
 τῷ μοναστηρίῳ. καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· ἐγὼ δι' αὐτὴν ἦλθον ὧδε·  
 τοιούτους γὰρ μεθυστὰς ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Θεός. καὶ πᾶσαι ἐξωμολογοῦντο  
 τῷ γέροντι τὸ τί ἔπραξαν εἰς αὐτήν. καὶ ποιήσας ὁ γέρων εὐχὴν  
 105 ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτῶν δοξάζοντες καὶ  
 εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ τῷ γινώσκοντι μόνῳ πόσους κρυπτοὺς  
 ἔχει δούλους.

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90 ἡγουμένη om. V || 92 ἔκρουσεν τὸ κροῦσμα: ἔκρουσε τὸ κρούσε τὸ κροῦσμα  
 V || 95 ἐπιρριπτάριν scripsi secuta cod. Par. Coisl. 283: περιπτάριν codd. || 97  
 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς V || 101 αὐτήν V || 104 τῷ γέροντι: τὸν γέροντα V || 105  
 ἀνεχώρησεν V

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99 ἐζήτησαν ... εὗρον: cf. Cant. 3:1; 3:2



### 5. *The Woman Who Pretended to Be a Drunkard*

He went and called her and the second sister in command, and all night they observed what she was doing. The *hegumene* wept, saying: “Oh, all the wicked things I have done to her!”

When the signal was given, a rumour of her spread through the sisterhood. She heard of this, slipped away quietly to where the elder was sleeping, and stole his staff and cowl. She opened the door of the monastery, wrote a note and put it into the key-hole of the door. It said: “Pray, and forgive me for the sins I have committed against you.” And she disappeared.

At daybreak they searched for her, but they did not find her. They went to the porch and found the door open and the note in it. There arose great lamentation in the monastery. The elder said: “It was for the sake of her that I came here, for God loves such drunkards.” And everybody confessed to the elder what they had done to her. And when the elder had offered a prayer for the sisters, they went to their cell glorifying and thanking God, who alone knows how many secret servants he has.

## 6. Περὶ Εὐλογίου τοῦ λατόμου

- Γέγονε κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆς  
Σκήτεως ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
κατερχόμενοι πλέοντες τὸν ποταμὸν παρέβαλον εἰς ἓν κτῆμα τοῦ  
5 γέροντος ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ναύταις. καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· ὦδε  
ἔχομεν μεῖναι τὴν σήμερον. καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ  
γογγύζειν λέγων· ἕως πότε γυρεύομεν; ἄγωμεν λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν  
Σκῆτιν. ὁ δὲ γέρων φησὶν· οὐχί, ἀλλ' ὦδε μένομεν σήμερον. καὶ  
ἐκάθισαν εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ χωρίου ὡς ξένοι. καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
10 τῷ γέροντι· ἄρα ἀρέσκει τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ὡς συνάδελφοι καθήμεθα  
ὦδε; ἄγωμεν κἂν εἰς μαρτύριον. καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· οὐχί, ἀλλ' ὦδε  
καθεζόμεθα. καὶ ἔμειναν ἐκεῖ καθεζόμενοι μέχρις ἐσπέρας  
βαθείας. καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ ἀδελφὸς μάχην ποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ γέροντος  
λέγων· διὰ σέ ἔχω ἀποθανεῖν κακῶς.  
15 αὐτῶν δὲ λαλούντων ἦλθε γέρων κοσμικός, μακρός, ὀλοπόλιος  
καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἀββᾶν Δανιήλ ἤρξατο τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καταφιλεῖν  
μετὰ κλαυθοῦ. ἡσπάσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν  
αὐτοῖς· κελεύσατε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. ἐβάσταζε δὲ καὶ φανόν, καὶ  
περιῆγε τὰς ρύμας τοῦ χωρίου ζητῶν ξένους. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν  
20 γέροντα καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσους εὔρε ξένους, ἀπῆλθεν  
εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ βαλὼν ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα ἔνιψε τοὺς  
πόδας τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τοῦ γέροντος. οὐκ εἶχε δέ τινα ἄλλον εἰς  
τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἴδιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν  
Θεόν. καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς τράπεζαν· καὶ μετὰ τὸ γεύσασθαι  
25 αὐτοὺς, λαβὼν τὰ περισσευθέντα κέρματα τοῖς κυναρίοις τοῦ  
χωρίου ἔβαλεν. οὕτως γὰρ εἶχεν ἔθος ποιεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν ἀπὸ  
ἐσπέρας ἕως πρὶν μίαν ψυχίαν. καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν ὁ

E (inc. mutil. post 155 ἔκραξα) P M V

**tit.** Εὐλογίου om. M V || 2 ἰδ' supra lin. add. V || 2-4 Γέγονε ... παρέβαλον:  
Ἄλλοτε πάλιν γέγονε (-εν V) κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ  
(αὐτοῦ om. V) ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ. καὶ πλεόντων αὐτῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξένευσαν  
M V || 6 ἔχομεν P V || τὴν om. M V || 7 γυρεύωμεν P || ἄγωμεν M || λοιπὸν  
om. M V || τὴν om. V || 8 ὁ ... φησὶν: λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων M V || μένωμεν P  
V || 11 ἄγωμεν M || καὶ om. M V || αὐτῷ post λέγει add. V || 12 μέχρι P || 21  
τὸν<sup>2</sup> om. M || 25 κέρματα: κλάσματα M V

## 6. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter

Abba Daniel, the presbyter of Sketis, had been in the Thebaid accompanied by his disciple. They came sailing down the river and arrived at a village, to which the elder had ordered the sailors. The elder said: "We are going to stay here today." His disciple began to grumble, saying: "How much longer are we going to wander around? Let us go to Sketis." But the elder said: "No, we are staying here today." And they sat down in the centre of the village like strangers. The brother said to the elder: "Will it please God that we sit here like brothers of these men? Let us at least go to a martyrion." The elder said: "No, we will sit here." And there they remained sitting until late evening. And the brother began to quarrel with the elder, saying: "Because of you I am going to die a miserable death."

While they were talking, an old man came, a lay-man, tall and whitehaired, and when he saw Abba Daniel he began to kiss his feet, weeping. He also greeted his disciple and said to them: "Please, come to my house." He was also carrying a torch and he went around the alleys of the village looking for strangers. He took the elder, his disciple and as many strangers as he could find, and went to his house. He poured water into the bowl and washed the feet of the brothers and of the elder. He had no one else in his own house, nor in any other place, only God. He laid a table before them, and when they had eaten, he took the leftovers and threw them to the village dogs. For this was his custom, and he would not allow a single crumb to remain from night until morning. The elder

γέρων ἕως οὗ διέφαισεν ἐκαθέζετο λαλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν  
μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων· καὶ τὸ πρῶν ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους  
30 ἀνεχώρησαν.

γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔβαλεν ὁ μαθητὴς  
μετάνοιαν τῷ γέροντι λέγων· ποίησον ἀγάπην, πάτερ, καὶ εἰπέ  
μοι τίς ἐστὶν ὁ γέρων οὗτος καὶ πόθεν αὐτὸν γινώσκεις. καὶ οὐκ  
ἠθέλησεν ὁ γέρων εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ πάλιν ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ  
35 μετάνοιαν λέγων· ἄλλα πολλά μοι ἐθάρρησας, καὶ τὰ τοῦ  
γέροντος οὐ θαρρεῖς μοι; ἦν γὰρ θαρρήσας αὐτῷ ἀρετὰς πολλῶν  
ἀγίων. ὁ δὲ γέρων οὐκ ἠθέλησε λαλῆσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
γέροντος τούτου, ὥστε τὸν ἀδελφὸν χολέσαι καὶ μὴ λαλῆσαι τῷ  
γέροντι ἕως τῆς Σκήτεως.

ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κελλίον οὐκ ἀπήνεγκε τῷ γέροντι τὸ  
μικρὸν τοῦ φαγίου κατὰ τὸ σύννηθες· τὴν ἐνδεκάτην γὰρ ὥραν  
ἐφύλαττεν ὁ γέρων πάντοτε. ἐσπέρας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθεν ὁ  
γέρων εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· διὰ τί, τέκνον,  
εἴσας τὸν πατέρα σου ἀποθανεῖν ἀπὸ λιμοῦ; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ·  
45 ἐγὼ πατέρα οὐκ ἔχω· εἰ γὰρ πατέρα εἶχον, ἡγάπα ἂν τὸ ἴδιον  
τέκνον. καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· εἰ μὴ ἔχεις πατέρα, παράθου· καὶ  
δραξαμένου αὐτοῦ τῆς θύρας ἀπελθεῖν φθάνει αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
καὶ κρατεῖ. καὶ ἤρξατο καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγειν· ζῇ Κύριος,  
οὐκ ἀπολύω σε, ἐὰν μή με εἴπῃς τίς ἐστὶν ὁ γέρων ἐκεῖνος. οὐκ  
50 ἡδύνατο γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἰδεῖν τὸν γέροντα θλιβόμενόν ποτε·  
ἡγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν πάνυ.

τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· ποίησόν μοι τὸ μικρὸν φαγίον  
πρῶτον, καὶ οὕτως λέγω σοι. καὶ μετὰ τὸ γεύσασθαι λέγει τῷ  
ἀδελφῷ· μὴ εἰ σκληροτράχηλος; διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀντιλέγειν σε εἰς τὸ  
χωρίον καὶ γογγύζειν οὐκ ἀπήγγειλά σοι τὰ περὶ τοῦ γέροντος.  
55 καὶ νῦν βλέπε μηδενὶ δευτερώσης ἢ ἀκούεις.

28 αὐτὸν post σωτηρίαν add. M || 32 μετάνοιαν post τῷ γέροντι transp. V || 37  
λαλῆσαι om. V || ἀναγγεῖλαι post ἀδελφῷ add. V || 41 γὰρ om. P || 49 με: μοι  
M || ἐστὶν: ἦν M V || ἐκεῖνος: ἐκεῖ P om. M || 52 τότε om. V || 53 οὗτος V ||  
54 εἰ: ἦς M || 56 δευτερώσεις P || ἀκούης M

## *6. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

took him aside and until dawn he sat talking with him about the way of salvation, with many tears. Early in the morning when they had taken leave of each other, they went their separate ways.

When they were on the road, the disciple apologized to the elder and said: "Please, father, tell me who that old man is and how you know him." But the elder did not want to tell him. Again he apologized, saying: "You have confided many other things to me, and you will not confide to me about this old man?" For he had confided the virtues of many saints to him. But the elder was unwilling to tell the brother about this old man, so that the brother became angry and did not speak to the elder all the way to Sketis.

The disciple went to his own cell and did not bring the elder the small meal as was the custom. For the elder always waited for the eleventh hour. When evening fell, the elder came to the brother's cell and said to him: "Why, my child, have you allowed your father to die of hunger?" He said to him: "I have no father; for if I had a father, he would love his own child." The elder said: "If you have no father, provide for yourself." He had taken hold of the door in order to leave when the brother overtook him and restrained him. He kissed him and said: "As surely as the Lord lives, I will not let you go unless you tell me who that old man is." The brother could not bear seeing the elder afflicted at any time, for he loved him very much.

Then the elder said to him: "First make me my little meal, and then I will tell you." After he had eaten, he said to the brother: "You are not stubborn, are you? It was because you spoke against me at the village and grumbled that I did not inform you about the old man. Now, see to it that you do not repeat to anyone what you hear."

οὗτος γὰρ ὁ γέρων Εὐλόγιος λέγεται· τῇ δὲ τέχνῃ λατόμος  
 ἐστίν. καταλύει οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐργοχείρου αὐτοῦ ἡμερούσιον ἐν  
 κεράτιον νουμίων, ἕως ἐσπέρας μὴ γευόμενός τινος. καὶ τῇ  
 60 ἐσπέρα ἐξέρχεται εἰς τὸ κτήμα, καὶ ὅσους εὖρη ξένους, λαμβάνει  
 αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τρέφει αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ  
 περισσεύματα τῶν κλασμάτων παραβάλλει τοῖς κυναρίοις καθὼς  
 εἶδες. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦ λατόμου ἐκ νεότητος μέχρι  
 τῆς σήμερον. ἔστι δὲ σήμερον πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν· καὶ  
 65 χορηγεῖ αὐτῷ ὁ Χριστὸς δύναμιν, καὶ καταλύει ἡμερούσιον τὸ  
 κεράτιον τῶν νουμίων.

ὅτε δὲ ἡμην νεώτερος ὡς πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, ἀνέβην  
 πωλῆσαι τὸ ἐργόχειρόν μου εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ κτήμα, καὶ τῇ ἐσπέρα  
 ἦλθε καὶ ἔλαβέ με καὶ ἄλλους σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός,  
 70 καὶ ἐξενοδόχησέ με.

ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός,  
 ἡρξάμην νηστεύειν ἐβδομάδας συναπτὰς καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν  
 Θεὸν χορηγῆσαι αὐτῷ περισσὸν ἀνάλωμα, ἵνα ἔχῃ καὶ εὐεργετῇ  
 καὶ ἄλλους πλείονας. καὶ νηστεύσας τρεῖς ἐβδομάδας ἐκείμην  
 75 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἡμιθανής· καὶ βλέπω τινὰ ἐλθόντα ἔγγιστά  
 μου ἱεροπρεπῇ τῷ σχήματι, καὶ λέγει μοι· Δανιήλ, τί ἔχεις; καὶ  
 λέγω αὐτῷ· λόγον δέδωκα, Δέσποτα, τῷ Χριστῷ μὴ γεύσασθαι  
 ἄρτου ἕως οὐ ἀκούσῃ μου περὶ Εὐλογίου τοῦ λατόμου, ἵνα  
 ἐπιχορηγήσῃ αὐτῷ εὐλογία, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἄλλους πλείονας  
 80 εὐεργετήσῃ. καὶ λέγει μοι· οὐχί, καλὸς ἐστι. λέγω αὐτῷ· μάλλον,  
 Κύριε, δὸς αὐτῷ, ἵνα πάντες δι' αὐτοῦ δοξάζωσι τὸ ὄνομα τὸ  
 ἅγιόν σου. καὶ λέγει μοι· ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, καλὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος. εἰ δὲ  
 θέλεις ἵνα χορηγήσω αὐτῷ, ἐγγύησαι περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ὅτι  
 σώζεται ἐν τοῖς πλείοσι, καὶ γὰρ παρέχω αὐτῷ. λέγω οὖν πρὸς  
 85 αὐτόν· ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου ἐκζήτησον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.

καὶ βλέπω ὡς ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Ἀνάστασιν ἐστήκαμεν, καὶ  
 μειράκιον ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω τοῦ ἁγίου λίθου, καὶ τὸν Εὐλόγιον ἐκ

57 γὰρ om. M V || 60 εὖρει M V || 63 καὶ om. M V || 64 ἑκατὸν: ρ' V || 72  
 συναπτὰς om. P || τὸν post Θεὸν add. P || 73 ἔχει P V || εὐεργετεῖ codd. || 76  
 ἱεροπρεπεῖ codd. || 77 Δέσποτα om. P || 78 ἀκούσει P || 79 ἐπιχωρηγήσει M  
 V || ὡς ἂν: ἵνα M V || 80 εὐεργετήσῃ codd. || 81 αὐτῷ: αὐτόν V || δοξάζουσι  
 P || 81-82 σου post ὄνομα transp. M V || 82 οὕτως E M V

## 6. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter

This old man is called Eulogios, and he is a stone-cutter by trade. From his handiwork he earns one *keration* each day, and he eats nothing until evening. In the evening he goes to the village and takes home with him as many strangers as he finds. He feeds them and throws the leftovers to the dogs, as you saw. He has carried on the trade as a stone-cutter from his early youth until this day. Today he is more than a hundred years old. Christ gives him strength, and each day he earns this *keration*.

When I was younger, about forty years ago, I went up to sell my handiwork in that village, and in the evening, he came and took me and other brothers together, with me according to his habit and entertained me as his guest.

When I had come here and had seen the virtue of the man, I began to fast for weeks together, and to pray to God that he would provide him with a large sum of money so that he might benefit even more people. Having fasted for three weeks, I lay half dead from my asceticism. Then I saw a person, sacred-looking as to his habit, coming very close to me, and he said to me: 'Daniel, what is the matter with you?' I said to him: 'I have given my word to Christ, master, that I will not taste bread until he hears me concerning Eulogios the stone-cutter; to provide him with a blessing, so that he may benefit even more people.' And he said to me: 'No, he is all right.' I said to him: 'Give him more, Lord, so that all people might glorify your holy name through him.' He said to me: 'I am telling you that this man is all right. If you want me to provide for him, you must stand guarantor that his soul will find salvation among the dead, and then I will supply him.' Then I said to him: 'You may require his soul at my hands.'

And I saw that we were standing in the Church of the Holy Resurrection, and a young man was sitting on the holy stone with

δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἰστάμενον. καὶ πέμπει πρὸς μέ τινα τῶν  
 παρισταμένων αὐτῷ καὶ λέγει μοι· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐγγυησάμενος  
 90 Εὐλόγιον; καὶ λέγουσι πάντες· ναί, Δέσποτα. καὶ πάλιν λέγει·  
 εἶπατε αὐτῷ ὅτι τὴν ἐγγύην ἀπαιτῆσαι ἔχω. καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· ναί,  
 Δέσποτα, πρὸς ἐμέ· μόνον δὸς αὐτῷ. καὶ βλέπω ὅτι ἐκένουν εἰς  
 τὸν κόλπον Εὐλογίου χρήματα πολλὰ πάνυ· καὶ ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι  
 ἐκένουν τοσοῦτον ἐπεδέχετο ὁ κόλπος Εὐλογίου. καὶ διυπνισθεῖς  
 95 ἔγνω ὅτι εἰσηκούσθην, καὶ ἐδόξασα τὸν Θεόν.

Εὐλόγιος δὲ ἐξελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἐργόχειρον αὐτοῦ κρούει εἰς  
 πέτραν καὶ ἀκούει ὑπόκουφόν τινα ψόφον· καὶ πάλιν κρούει καὶ  
 εὕρισκει τρυμαλιὰν μικράν· καὶ πάλιν κρούει, καὶ εὕρισκει  
 σπήλαιον μεστὸν χρημάτων. ἔκθαμβος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Εὐλόγιος  
 100 λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῷ· τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἰσι· τί δὲ  
 ποιήσω; ἐὰν λάβω αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ κτῆμα, ἀκούει ὁ ἄρχων καὶ ἔρχεται  
 καὶ λαμβάνει αὐτά, καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύω· μᾶλλον οὖν εἰς τὴν ἔξω  
 χώραν, ὅπου οὐδεὶς με γινώσκει, ἀπέλθω. καὶ μισθωσάμενος ζῶα,  
 ὡς ἵνα κομίση λίθους, νυκτὸς ἐκόμισε τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τὸν  
 105 ποταμόν. καὶ καταλύσας τὸ καλὸν ἔργον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἐποίει βαλὼν  
 αὐτὰ εἰς πλοῖον κατέλαβε τὸ Βυζάντιον.

ἐβασίλευε δὲ τότε Ἰουστῖνος ὁ γέρων. καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ  
 χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ἔπαρχον τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων·  
 ἠγόρασε δὲ καὶ οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἣτις λέγεται τὰ Αἰγύπτου μέχρι  
 110 τῆς σήμερον.

καὶ μετὰ δύο ἔτη βλέπω κατ' ὄναρ πάλιν τὸ μεираκίον ἐκεῖνο  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Ἀνάστασιν, ὥσπερ πρότερον, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν  
 βλέπω τὸν Εὐλόγιον συρόμενον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ μεираκίου ὑπὸ  
 ἐνὸς Αἰθίοπος. καὶ διυπνισθεῖς λέγω ἐν ἑαυτῷ· ἀβάλα μοι τῷ  
 115 ἁμαρτωλῷ. ἀπώλεσα τὴν ψυχὴν μου. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν μηλωτὴν μου  
 ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ κτῆμα ὡς πωλῶν τὸ ἐργόχειρόν μου καὶ προσδοκῶν

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93–94 χρήματα ... Εὐλογίου ex homoeoteleut. om. M || 95 ἐδόξασαν M || 98  
 τρυμαλιὰν ... εὕρισκει ex homoeoteleut. om. M || 104 κομίση: κομήσει P || 111  
 πάλιν om. M V || 113 ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ P || 114 ἑαυτῷ: ἑμαυτῷ M V || ἀβάλε M V ||  
 115 μου post ἀπώλεσα transp. M

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87 ἐκάθητο ... λίθου: cf. Mt. 28:2



## 6. *Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

Eulogios standing on his right. He sent one of those who stood by him to me and said to me: 'Is this the person who stands guarantor for Eulogios?' And everybody said: 'Yes, master.' Again he said: 'Tell him that I shall require the guarantee.' I said to him: 'Yes, master—it is my responsibility; only give it to him.' And I saw how they were pouring a large amount of money into Eulogios' lap, which received as much as they poured. When I awoke, I knew that my prayer had been heard and I glorified God.

When Eulogios went off to his work, he struck a rock and heard a hollow sound. He struck again and found a small opening, struck again and found a cave full of money. Eulogios was astounded, and said to himself: 'This is the Israelites' money; what am I to do? If I take it into the village, the governor will hear about it and come and seize it, and I will be in danger. I had better go to a foreign country, where nobody knows me.' He hired beasts, as though he were going to carry away stones, and by night he carried the money off to the river. He abandoned this good work which he performed, and taking the money on a ship he reached Byzantium.

At that time Justin the Elder was reigning. Eulogios gave him large amounts of money, and Justin appointed him prefect of the holy praetorian guards. He also bought a huge house, which is known to this day as 'The Egyptian's.'

Two years later, in a dream, I saw that young man in the Church of the Holy Resurrection again, as before, and, shortly after, I saw Eulogios being dragged away from the young man by an Ethiopian. I woke up and said to myself: 'Woe to me, sinful man! I have lost my soul.' I took my cloak and went off to the village to sell my handiwork, expecting to find

εὐρεῖν τὸν Εὐλόγιον. ἐσπέρα πάνυ ἐγένετο καὶ οὐδεὶς με προε-  
 τρέψατο. ἐγείρομαι οὖν, καὶ ἐπερωτῶ μίαν γραῦν καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ·  
 ὄντως σύ, ἀμμᾶ, λάβε μοι τρία παξαμάτια, ἵνα φάγω, ὅτι οὐκ  
 120 ἔφαγον σήμερον. ἡ δὲ ἀπελθοῦσα ἤνεγκέ μοι ὀλίγον ἐψητόν, καὶ  
 παρακαθίσασά μοι ἤρξατο λαλεῖν ὠφελείας ῥήματα λέγουσα· κύρι  
 ἀββᾶ, οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι νεώτερος εἶ καὶ οὐκ ὤφειλες εἰς κτῆμα  
 ὀψίζεσθαι; ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἡσυχίαν θέλει;  
 λέγω αὐτῇ· τί οὖν κελεύεις ἵνα ποιήσω, ὅτι τὸ ἐργόχειρόν μου  
 125 ἦλθον πωλῆσαι; ἡ δὲ εἶπε· κἂν τὸ ἐργόχειρόν σου πωλῆς, μὴ ὀψιζε  
 οὕτως εἰς κτῆμα. καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ· ὄντως σύ, ἄφες με τὰς ὁμιλίας  
 ταύτας. ἀλλ' εἶπέ μοι· οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς τὸ κτῆμα τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος  
 φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἐπισυνάγων τοὺς ξένους; καὶ λέγει μοι·  
 ὦ τί ἐλάλησας, κύρι ἀββᾶ; εἵχομεν ὧδε λατόμον τινὰ καὶ πολλὰ  
 130 καλὰ ἐποίει εἰς τοὺς ξένους. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ  
 ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν, καὶ ἔστιν ὡς ἀκούομεν πατρίκιος σήμερον.

ἀκούσας δὲ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγω ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· ἐγὼ τὸν φόνον τοῦτον  
 εἰργασάμην. καὶ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον καταλαμβάνω τὸ Βυζάντιον.  
 καὶ περιεργασάμενος τὴν οἰκίαν Εὐλογίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καθέ-  
 135 ζομαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πυλῶνος αὐτοῦ ἕως ὅτε προῆλθε. καὶ θεωρῶ  
 αὐτὸν ἐν φαντασίᾳ μεγάλη, καὶ κράζω αὐτῷ· ἐλέησόν με, τίποτε  
 θέλω σοι ἰδιάσαι· καὶ οὐ προσέσχε μοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀψίκιον αὐτοῦ  
 ἔτυπτέ με. καὶ προελάμβανον καὶ πάλιν ἔκραζον καὶ πάλιν  
 ἔτυπτόν με. καὶ ἐποίησα οὕτως χειμαζόμενος τέσσαρας ἐβδομά-  
 140 δας, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθην αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν. τότε ὀλιγωρήσας ἀπῆλθον  
 καὶ ἔρριψα ἑμαυτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνης τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεο-  
 τόκου μετὰ κλαυθοῦ καὶ λέγω πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα· Κύριε, ἢ λύσον  
 τὴν ἐγγύην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἢ κἀγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν  
 κόσμον.

119 σύ om. V || 121 παρακαθίσας (-κα- in marg.) M || 122 ὠφείλῃς P || 123  
 θέλῃ V || 125 πωλῆς: πωλεῖς P || 126 οὕτως: οὗτος P om. V || τὸ ante κτῆμα  
 add. V || με τὰς: με (με eras. ut videtur P) μετὰς codd. || 131 εἰς τὸ βυζάντιον  
 post χάριν in marg. add. V || ἀκούωμεν V || 134 καὶ ante καθέζομαι eras. ut  
 videtur V || 136 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ V || μεγάλη: πολλῇ M V || 138 καὶ πάλιν post  
 πάλιν<sup>2</sup> add. M

## 6. *Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

Eulogios. It got to be very late in the evening and nobody invited me. So I got up and asked an old woman and said to her: 'Surely you, mother, will get me three pieces of dried bread so that I can eat, for I have not eaten today.' She went and brought me a small boiled dish. She sat down beside me and began to speak spiritually beneficial words, saying: 'Lord abba, do you not know that you are a young man, and that you should not stay late in the village? Do you not know that the monastic life requires stillness?' I said to her: 'But what are you demanding me to do, for I came to sell my handiwork?' She said: 'Even if you sell your handiwork, you should not stay so late in the village.' I said to her: 'Surely you, spare me these admonishments. But tell me: Is there not a God-fearing man in this village who gathers the strangers?' And she said to me: 'Ah, what are you saying, lord abba? We used to have a stone-cutter here who did many good things for the strangers. God saw his deeds and gave him grace, and today, as we have heard, he is a *patrikios*.'

When I heard that, I said to myself: 'I committed this murder.' I went aboard a ship and reached Byzantium. I inquired diligently about the house of Eulogios the Egyptian, and I sat down before his gate until he came out. I saw him in great splendour and I cried to him: 'Have mercy on me. I want to say something to you in private.' He paid no heed to me, but his escort beat me. I overtook him and cried again, and again they beat me. I went on suffering like that for four weeks but was not able to meet with him. Then, discouraged, I went and threw myself down in tears before the icon of the supremely holy Mother of God, and I said to the Saviour: 'Lord, release me from the guarantee I made for that man, or I, too, will go into the world.'

145 καὶ ταῦτά μου ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ εἰπόντος ἀπενύσταξα, καὶ θεωρῶ  
ὅτι θόρυβος ἦρχετο μέγας, καὶ λέγουσιν· ἡ Αὐγοῦστα προέρχε-  
ται. καὶ προῆλθον ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς μυριάδες καὶ χιλιάδες ταγ-  
μάτων. καὶ ἔκραξα ἐγὼ καὶ εἶπον· ἐλέησόν με, Δέσποινά μου. ἡ δὲ  
ἔστη καὶ λέγει μοι· τί ἐστὶν ὃ ἔχεις; καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ· Εὐλόγιον  
150 τὸν ὑπαρχον ἐνεγγυησάμην. καὶ κέλευσον αὐτῷ ἐκλυτρώσαί με  
τῆς ἐγγύης ταύτης. ἡ δὲ εἶπέ μοι· ἐγὼ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔχω· ὡς  
θέλεις πλήρωσον τὴν ἐγγύην.

καὶ διυπνισθεὶς λέγω ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· ἐὰν δεῖ με ἀποθανεῖν, οὐκ  
ἀναχωρῶ τοῦ πυλῶνος αὐτοῦ ἐὰν μὴ συντύχω αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπῆλθον  
155 πάλιν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πυλῶνος. καὶ ὡς προέρχεται ἔκραξα· καὶ  
ἐπιτρέχει μοι ὁ ὀστιάριος καὶ δίδωσί μοι βέργας ἕως οὗ κατέ-  
πεσεν ὅλον τὸ σῶμά μου. τότε ὀλιγορήσας λέγω ἐν ἑαυτῷ·  
ἄγωμεν εἰς Σκῆτιν καί, ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ Θεός, σώζει καὶ ἐμέ καὶ τὸν  
Εὐλόγιον.

160 καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐρευνῆσαι πλοῖον καὶ εὐρὼν Ἀλεξανδρίνον, ὡς  
μόνον εἰσῆλθον εἰς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ὀλιγορίας μου ἔθηκα ἑμαυτὸν καὶ  
ἀφύπνωσα. καὶ βλέπω ἑμαυτὸν πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Ἀνάστασιν,  
καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἐκεῖνο καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου λίθου, καὶ  
προσέχων μοι μετὰ ἀπειλῆς λέγει μοι· οὐχ ὑπάγεις πληροῖς τὴν  
165 ἐγγύην; ἐγὼ δὲ ἰστάμην τρέμων καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι ἀπὸ  
τοῦ φόβου. καὶ κελεύει δύο τῶν παρισταμένων αὐτῷ καὶ κρεμῶσί  
με ὀπισθάγκωνα, καὶ λέγουσί μοι· μὴ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμίν σου  
ἐγγυῶ, καὶ μὴ ἀντίλεγε Θεῷ. καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα  
μου κρεμάμενος.

170 καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα· ἡ Αὐγοῦστα προέρχεται. καὶ ἰδὼν  
αὐτὴν ἔλαβον μικρὰν παραμυθίαν καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ λεπτῇ τῇ φωνῇ·  
ἐλέησόν με, Δέσποινα τοῦ κόσμου. καὶ λέγει μοι· τί πάλιν θέλεις;  
λέγω αὐτῇ· περὶ τῆς ἐγγύης Εὐλογίου κρέμαμαι. καὶ λέγει μοι·  
ἐγὼ παρακαλῶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ. καὶ βλέπω ὅτι ἀπῆλθε καὶ κατεφίλει τοὺς  
175 πόδας τοῦ μειρακίου. καὶ λέγει μοι τὸ ἅγιον μειράκιον ἐκεῖνο·

150 ἔπαρχον P || ἐγγυησάμην M V || 152 θέλης P || 158 θέλει M || σώζη E V  
|| 160 καὶ ante ὡς add. M || 161 αὐτὸ: αὐτὸν V || 162 ἑμαυτὸν: ἐαυτὸν E || 164  
ἐκπληροῖς P || 165 ὅλως (-ος M) post δυνάμενος add. P M || 166 μου post  
φόβου add. M || 167 ὀπισθάγκωνα codd. || 171–173 λεπτῇ ... αὐτῇ ex homoeo-  
teleut. om. V || 173 λέγω αὐτῇ om. E

## *6. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

As I was saying these things in my mind, I was overcome by sleep and I perceived that a great alarm came, and they were saying: 'The Augusta is coming!' And there went before her myriads and thousands of hosts, and I cried out and said: 'Have mercy on me, my lady.' She stopped and said to me: 'What is the matter with you?' I said to her: 'I stood guarantor for Eulogios the prefect. Order him to release me from that guarantee.' She said to me: 'This is not my affair. Fulfil your guarantee as you wish.'

I awoke and said to myself: 'Even if I am to die, I will not leave his gate unless I have met with him.' Again I went before the gate. When Eulogios came out, I cried out. The door-keeper ran to me and whipped me until every part of my body was broken. Then, discouraged I said to myself: 'Let us go to Sketis and, if God will, he will save both me and Eulogios.'

I went in search of a ship and, having found one bound for Alexandria, I was scarcely aboard when I lay down discouraged and fell asleep. Once again I saw myself in the Church of the Holy Resurrection and that young man sitting upon the holy stone. He turned towards me and said to me threatening: 'Will you not fulfil your guarantee?' I stood trembling and could not speak because of fear. He ordered two of those standing beside him to hang me up with my arms tied behind my back and they said to me: 'Do not offer guarantees beyond your power, and do not contradict God.' I could not open my mouth hanging there.

And there was a voice saying: 'The Augusta is coming!' When I saw her, I took a little comfort and said to her in a low voice: 'Have mercy on me, Lady of the World.' She said to me: 'What do you want now again?' I said to her: 'It is because of the guarantee I gave for Eulogios that I am hanging here.' She said to me: 'I am going to intercede for you.' And I saw how she went and kissed the feet of the young man. And that holy

ὑπαγε μηκέτι ποιήσης τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. καὶ λέγω· ἥμαρτον,  
Δέσποτα· συγχώρησόν μοι. ἐγὼ γὰρ παρεκάλεσα ἵνα χρήσιμος  
γένηται, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀχρήσιμος. καὶ κελεύει, καὶ λύουσί με. καὶ λέγει  
μοι· ὑπαγε εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου, καὶ πῶς φέρω τὸν Εὐλόγιον εἰς  
180 τὴν προτέραν αὐτοῦ τάξιν μὴ ζήτηι. καὶ διυπνισθεὶς ἐχάρην  
χαρὰν μεγάλην, ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐγγύης· καὶ ἔπλευσα  
εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ.

μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀκούω ὅτι ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰουστίνος, καὶ  
βασιλεύει Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνταίρουσιν  
185 αὐτῷ Ὑπάτιος καὶ Δεξικράτης καὶ Πομπήϊος καὶ Εὐλόγιος ὁ  
ὑπαρχος. καὶ οἱ μὲν τρεῖς κρατηθέντες ἀπεκεφαλίσθησαν καὶ  
διηρπάγησαν πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ οὐσία Εὐλογίου. καὶ φεύγει  
νυκτὸς ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὁ Εὐλόγιος. καὶ κελεύει ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ἵνα ὅπου εὕρεθῇ ὁ Εὐλόγιος ἀποθάνῃ. τότε φεύγει καὶ  
190 ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀλλάσσει τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ὡς  
τὰ τῶν χωρικῶν. καὶ συνήχθη ὅλον τὸ κτῆμα ἰδεῖν τὸν Εὐλόγιον,  
καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· καλῶς ἦλθες· ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι πατρίκιος  
ἐγένου. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ναί· εἰ πατρίκιος ἐγενόμην, τὴν ὄψιν  
ὑμῶν ἔβλεπον; οὐχί, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος Εὐλόγιος τῆς χώρας ταύτης  
195 ἐστίν. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους ἤμην.

καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς ἑαυτόν, καὶ λέγει· ταπεινὲ Εὐλόγιε, ἔγειρε  
λάβε τὸ λατομικόν σου, καὶ ὑπαγε κάμε· ὧδε παλάτιον οὐκ ἔστι,  
μήποτε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου ἀπολέσης. καὶ λαβὼν τὸ λατομικόν  
ἐργαλεῖον ἐξέβη εἰς τὴν πέτραν ὅπου τὰ χρήματα εὗρεν ὡς  
200 νομίζων εὕρεῖν καὶ ἄλλα, καὶ κρούσας ἕως ὥρας ἑκτῆς οὐδὲν  
εὗρεν. καὶ ἤρξατο μιμνήσκεσθαι τὰ ὀψίκια καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ  
τὰ ἐδέσματα καὶ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ· ταπεινὲ Εὐλόγιε, ἔγειρε  
κάμε· ὧδε Αἴγυπτός ἐστι. καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν μικρὸν κατέστησεν  
αὐτὸν τὸ ἅγιον μεράκιον καὶ ἡ Δέσποινα ἡμῶν Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν

176 μηκέτι: μὴ P || ποιήσεις P M V || 180 ζήτη E P || 181 ἐγγύης post  
ἐγγύης add. M || 184 ἀντέρουσιν codd. || 185 Δεξικράτης scripsi: δεξιοκράτης  
codd. || Πομπήϊος scripsi: πόμπιος codd. || 186 ἔπαρχος P || 189 εὕρεθῃ P ||  
193 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ναί et aliquot verba, quae legere nequeo ante καὶ λέγει lin.  
eras. ut videtur V || ναί om. V || 194 ἄλλος om. P || 196 ἔγειρε: ἔγειραι E M  
om. P || 198 ἀπολέσεις P || λαβὼν V || 200 ἄλλο V || ἑκτῆς: ς' E || 202  
ἔγειραι E || 204 ἡμῖν fortasse E V || ἡ ante Θεοτόκος add. M

## 6. *Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

young man said to me: 'Do not ever act like that again.' I said: 'I have sinned, master, please forgive me. I prayed that he would be useful and not useless.' He gave the order and they released me. He said to me: 'Go to your cell, and do not ask how I will bring Eulogios to his former position.' I awoke and rejoiced with great joy, having been released from such a guarantee. And I sailed on, giving thanks to God.

Three months later I heard that Justin had died and that Justinian was reigning instead of him. Then a little while later Hypatios, Dexikrates, Pompeios, and Eulogios the prefect rose up against him. Three of them were seized and beheaded and had all their belongings confiscated. The same happened to the property of Eulogios, but he fled by night from Constantinople. The Emperor ordered that wherever Eulogios was found, he was to die. Then he fled and came to his village, and he changed his clothes into those of the countrymen. The entire village assembled to see Eulogios and they said to him: 'Welcome; we heard that you had become a *patrikios*.' He said to them: 'In truth, if I had become a *patrikios*, would I be looking you in the face? No, it is another Eulogios from this region, for I was at the Holy Places.'

He came to himself and said: 'Wretched Eulogios, get up, take your stone-cutting gear and go to work! There is no royal court here, but neither will you lose your head.' He took his stone-cutting gear and went out to the rock where he had found the money, since he was expecting to find even more, and he struck it until the sixth hour but found nothing. He started remembering the escorts, the splendour and the food, and again he said to himself: 'Wretched Eulogios, get to work; for here is Egypt.' And little by little the holy young man and our Lady, the Mother of God,

205 προτέραν τάξιν. οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ καμάτων.

μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀνέβην εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο πωλῆσαι τὸ ἐργόχειρόν μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐσπέρας ἦλθε κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔθνος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλαβέ με. καὶ ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ  
210 ἀνεστέναξα, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπον· ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας. τίς θεὸς μέγας ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν; σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μόνος. Κύριος πτωχίζει καὶ πλουτίζει, ταπεινοῖ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ. τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ἢ τὰ κρίματά σου τίς ἐξιχνιάσει, Κύριε; ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐπεχείρησα, καὶ  
215 παρὰ βραχὺ παρώκησε τῷ ἄδῃ ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν με μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων τῶν εὐρεθέντων ἐνιψεν ἡμῶν τοὺς πόδας κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν τράπεζαν. καὶ μετὰ τὸ γεύσασθαι ἡμᾶς λέγω αὐτῷ· πῶς ἔχεις, ἀββᾶ Εὐλόγιε; ὁ δὲ λέγει μοι· εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, κύρι ἀββᾶ· ὅτι ταπεινός  
220 εἰμι, μὴ ἔχων μετὰ χειρὸς τίποτε. λέγω αὐτῷ· εἶθε καὶ ἃ εἶχες μὴ εἶχες. λέγει μοι· διατί, κύρι ἀββᾶ; τίποτέ σε ἐσκανδάλισα; λέγω αὐτῷ· τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐσκανδάλισάς με; τότε ἀνεθέμην αὐτῷ ἅπαντα τὰ γενόμενα. καὶ κλαυσάντων ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν λέγει μοι· εὖξαι, ἀββᾶ, ἵνα πέμψη ὁ Θεός τὴν χρεῖαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν διορ-  
225 θοῦμαι· λέγω αὐτῷ· ὄντως, ἀδελφέ, μὴ προσδοκήσης ἔτι πιστευθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄλλο τίποτε ὅσον εἶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ εἰ μὴ τὸ κεράτιον τοῦτο τοῦ καμάτου σου. καὶ ἰδοὺ τοσοῦτους χρόνους ἐχορήγησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν δύναμιν καταλύειν τὸ κεράτιον τοῦ χειρουργίου αὐτοῦ.

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207 ὀλίγον χρόνον: ὀλίγων χρόνων M || 208 βαθείας post ἐσπέρας add. E || 216 καὶ: τῶν P || 218 ἀββᾶ: κύρι P || 221 εἶχες: ἔσχες M || 224 πέμψει V || τοῦ om. V || 225 προσδοκήσεις P M || 228 ὁ Θεὸς post ἐχορήγησεν transp. V || 229 χειρουργίου P

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210–211 ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη ... ἐποίησας: Ps. 103(104):24a || 211–212 τίς θεὸς ... θαυμάσια: Ps. 76(77):14b–15a || 212 ὁ Θεὸς ... μόνος: Ps. 71(72):18b || 212–213 Κύριος ... ἀνυψοῖ: 1 Reg. 2:7 || 213 ταπεινοῖ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ: cf. Ps. 74(75):8b || 213–214 τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ... Κύριε: cf. Sir. 18:4b; 18:6b || 215 παρὰ βραχὺ ... μου: Ps. 93(94):17b



## 6. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter

restored him to his former position. For God is not an unrighteous one who would forget his previous labours.

A little while later I went up to sell my handiwork in that village, and in the evening he came according to his former habit and took me along. When I saw him, I groaned because of the dust and weeping I said: 'O Lord, how great are your works! In wisdom you have made them all. What god is as great as our God? You are the God who alone works wonders. The Lord makes poor and makes rich; he brings low and lifts up. Who can search out your wonders or your judgements, Lord? I, the sinner, put my hand on it and my soul almost dwelt in Hades.'

He took me together with the other people whom he had also found and washed our feet according to his habit, and laid a table before us. When we had eaten I said to him: 'How are you, Abba Eulogios?' He said to me: 'Pray for me, lord abba, for I am a wretched man with nothing in my hands.' I said to him: 'Would that you had not even had what you used to have!' He said to me: 'Why, lord abba? Did I offend you in any way?' I said to him: 'Was there anything in which you did not offend me?' Then I told him all that had happened. Both of us wept and he said to me: 'Pray, abba, that God will send me the necessary things and that I from now on will be put back on the right track.' I said to him: 'Indeed, brother, do not expect ever to be entrusted by Christ with anything again as long as you are in this world, except for this *keration* from your work.' And behold, for so many years did God give him the strength to earn the *keration* from his labour."

- 230 ταῦτα ἐθάρρησεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸ  
ἐπαναλῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδος. θαυμάσαι δὲ ἔστι τὴν τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα πῶς δι' ὀλίγου ὕψωσε τὸν Εὐλόγιον καὶ πάλιν  
ἐταπείνωσε τοσοῦτον πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον· εὐξώμεθα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς  
ταπεινωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ, ἵνα ἐν τῷ φοβερῷ αὐτοῦ βήματι εὕρωμεν  
235 ἔλεος ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

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**231** αὐτοὺς: αὐτὸν P || ἔστι om. P || **233** τοσοῦτον in marg. M || εὐξόμεθα E V  
|| **234** εὕρομεν M

## *6. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

This is what Abba Daniel confided to his disciple when they had returned from the Thebaid. Wondrous is the goodness of God, how in a short time he raised up Eulogios and again humbled him so much for his benefit. Therefore let us pray that we, too, may be humbled in Christ, that we might find mercy in his awesome seat of judgement in the presence of his glory.

## 7. Περὶ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ ἀργυροπράτου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀθανασίας

Ἦν τις ἀργυροπράτης ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ ὀνόματι Ἀνδρό-  
νικος. ἔλαβε δὲ γυναῖκα θυγατέρα Ἰωάννου τινὸς ἀργυροπράτου  
5 ὀνόματι Ἀθανασίαν· ὧντως γὰρ ἀθανασία ἐφάνη τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ  
τῷ λογισμῷ. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος εὐλαβὴς πάνυ καὶ καλῶν  
ἔργων μεμεστωμένος. ἦσαν δὲ πλούσιοι σφόδρα. οὗτος δὲ ἦν  
αὐτῶν ὁ βίος· τὰ τοῦ ἀργυροπρατείου καὶ τῆς περιουσίας αὐτῶν  
10 εἰς τρία μέρη διεῖλον, ἐν μέρος εἰς λόγον τῶν πτωχῶν, καὶ τὸ  
ἄλλο εἰς λόγον τῶν μοναχῶν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον εἰς λόγον ἑαυτῶν.  
πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἠγάπα τὸν κύριον Ἀνδρόνικον διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν  
αὐτοῦ.

ἔγνω δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν υἱὸν καὶ  
ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννην. ἔτι δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκε  
15 θυγατέρα καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὴν Μαρίαν. καὶ οὐκέτι προσέθετο  
προσεγγίσει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος. κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ καὶ δευτέραν  
καὶ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας ἕως πρωῒ ἐσχόλαζεν ὁ  
μὲν Ἀνδρόνικος εἰς τὰ λούσματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ  
εἰς τὰ λούσματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῆς φιλοπτωχείας ἕνεκα.

20 ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐλθοῦσα ἡ κυρία Ἀθανασία ἀπὸ τοῦ  
λούσματος τῆς φιλοπονίας ὄρθρου εὕρισκει τὰ δύο αὐτῆς τέκνα  
στενάζοντα, καὶ ἀνελθοῦσα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἔθηκεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸ  
στῆθος αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἀνδρόνικος εἰσελθὼν ἤρξατο  
κατακράζειν αὐτῆς ὥς πολλὰ κοιμωμένης. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μὴ  
25 ὀργίζου, κύριέ μου· τὰ παιδιά γὰρ ἀσθενοῦσι. καὶ ἀψάμενος

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ΕΡΜV

tit. Περὶ ... Ἀθανασίας: περὶ ἀνδρονίκου καὶ ἀθανασίας in summa pagina E  
περὶ ἀνδρονίκου ἀργυροκόπου ... ἀθανασίας M τοῦ om. V || 3 ιε' in marg. add.  
V || 4 θυγατέραν codd. || 5 Ἀθανασίαν: ἀθανασία E V || 6 πάνη V || 7 οὕτως  
(οὐ- V) M V || 10 ἄλλον V || τῶν ante ἑαυτῶν add. E || 14 συλλαβοῦσα:  
λαβοῦσα P M || 16 δὲ ante κυριακὴν transp. P || 20 κυρία: κυρὰ P || καὶ post  
Ἀθανασία add. E || 21 φιλοπονίας: φιλοπτωχίας M || 22 τὸ om. V || 23  
εἰσελθὼν: ἐλθὼν V || 24 ὥς om. ut videtur M || 25 ὀργίζου: γόγγιζε ut videtur M  
|| ἀψαμένων M

## 7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia

There was in Great Antioch a money-dealer named Andronikos. He took as his wife the daughter of John, a money-dealer. She was called Athanasia, for she would indeed turn out to be immortal through her deeds and sense. Andronikos, too, was very pious and full of good deeds. They were very rich. This was their way of life: they divided the profits from the money-dealing and their wealth into three portions: one for the poor, another for the monks, and a third for themselves. The entire city loved Lord Andronikos for his righteousness.

He had intercourse with his wife, and she conceived and gave birth to a son, and called him John. Then again she conceived in her womb and gave birth to a daughter and called her Mary. And Andronikos did not approach her any more. On Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from evening to morning, Andronikos devoted himself to the bathing of men, and his wife to the bathing of women for the sake of their love for the poor.

One day, Lady Athanasia came early in the morning from her charity work of bathing and found her two children moaning. She got up into bed and took them to her breast. When the blessed Andronikos came in, he started shouting at her for sleeping too much, but she said to him: "Do not be angry, my lord; the children are unwell." He touched them and

αὐτῶν εὗρεν αὐτὰ πυρετῷ συνεχόμενα, καὶ στενάξας λέγει· τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου γενέσθω.

καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως προσεύξασθαι εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Ἰουλιανόν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ κεῖνται οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐκεῖ ἕως  
 30 ὥρας ἑκτῆς, καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἀκούει ὀλολυγμοῦ καὶ θορύβου γινομένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ταραχθεὶς ἔδραμε καὶ εὕρισκει σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἀποθανόντα. καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ νήπια ὁμοῦ κείμενα εἰς τὴν κλίνην  
 εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ  
 35 θυσιαστηρίου κλαίων καὶ λέγων· αὐτὸς γυμνὸς ἐξῆλθον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου, γυμνὸς καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐκεῖ. ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ Κύριος ἀφείλατο. ὥς τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο. εἶη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐζήτει πνίξαι ἑαυτὴν λέγουσα ὅτι· μετὰ τῶν τέκνων  
 40 μου ἀποθανοῦμαι.

συνῆλθε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἐξόδιον τῶν παιδίων ὥστε καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ κλήρῳ ἐλθεῖν. καὶ κατέθηκαν αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐπάνω τῶν πάππων αὐτῶν. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρόνικον ὁ πατριάρχης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ  
 45 ἐπισκοπεῖον.

ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον ἐκοιμήθη. μεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς παραφαίνεται αὐτῇ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν σχήματι μοναχοῦ λέγων αὐτῇ· τί οὐκ ἀφίεις ἀναπαῆναι τοὺς ὧδε; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· κύριέ μου, μὴ  
 50 λυπηθῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ πονοῦσά εἰμι· δύο γὰρ τέκνα ἔσχον μόνα, καὶ σήμερον τὰ δύο ἐξεκόμισα ὁμοῦ. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῇ· πόσων χρόνων ἦσαν τὰ παιδιά σου; λέγει αὐτῷ· τὸ ἐν δώδεκα χρόνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο δέκα. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν· τί οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων κλαίεις; εἶθε ἔκλαιες τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου. λέγω σοι γάρ, γύναι, ὅτι

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26 αὐτῶν: αὐτὸν V || 30 ἑκτῆς: ς' E || 31 γινομένου V || ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ: εἰς τὸν οἶκον M || 33 ὁμοῦ κείμενα om. V || 42 κατέθηκεν P || 44 καὶ ante τὸν add. P || 54 γάρ ante σοι transp. M V ||

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26–27 τὸ θέλημα ... γενέσθω: Act. 21:14. Cf. Mt. 6:10; Lc. 22:42 || 35–38 αὐτὸς ... εὐλογημένον: Iob 1:21 || 37–38 εἶη ... τοῦ αἰῶνος: Ps. 112(113):2

### *7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

found that they were burning with fever. Groaning he said: “The will of the Lord be done!”

And he went out of the city to pray at Saint Julian’s—for there lie their parents. There he prayed until the sixth hour, and when he was on his way back he heard that there was loud crying and disturbance in his house. Worried, he started running and found almost the whole city in his house and the children dead. When he saw the children lying together in the bed, he entered his oratory and threw himself down before the altar. Crying he said: “Naked I came from my mother’s womb and naked shall I return there. The Lord gave; the Lord has taken away. As it seemed good to the Lord, so has it come about. Blessed be the name of the Lord from this present time and for ever more!” His wife tried to strangle herself, saying: “I will die with my children.”

The entire city assembled for the funeral of the children; even the patriarch came with his entire clergy. And they buried them at the Martyrium of Saint Julian, on top of their grandparents. The patriarch brought with him the blessed Andronikos and went into the episcopal residence.

His wife did not want to return home; instead she slept at the martyrion. In the middle of the night the martyr appeared to her in a monk’s clothing and said to her: “Why do you not leave those who are here to their rest?” She said: “My lord, do not be annoyed with me, for I am suffering. I had only two children and today I have buried both of them at the same time.” He said to her: “How old were your children?” She said to him: “One was twelve years old and the other ten.” He said to her: “Why are you weeping for them? It would be better to weep for your own sins! I tell you, woman, that just as when the nature of man

55 ὃν τρόπον ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ φύσις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν βρῶσιν, καὶ  
ἀδύνατον μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ φαγεῖν, οὕτως καὶ τὰ νήπια ἀπαιτοῦσι  
τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀγαθὰ λέγοντα·  
Δικαιοκρίτα, ἐστέρησας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπιγείων, μὴ στερήσης ἡμᾶς  
καὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων.

60 ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα κατενύγη καὶ μετέβαλε τὸ πένθος εἰς χαρὰν  
λέγουσα· εἰ ἄρα ζῶσι τὰ τέκνα μου ἐν οὐρανοῖς, τί κλαίω; καὶ  
στραφεῖσα ἐζήτησε τὸν λαλήσαντα αὐτῇ ἀββᾶν καὶ οὐχ εὔρεν.  
καὶ κρούει τῷ θυρωρῷ λέγουσα· ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀββᾶς ὁ εἰσελθὼν ὧδε  
ἄρτι; λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ θυρωρός· βλέπεις ἡσφαλισμένας τὰς θύρας  
65 πάσας καὶ λέγεις· ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ εἰσελθὼν ὧδε ἀββᾶς ἄρτι; καὶ  
ἔγνωσεν ὁ παραμονάριος ὅτι ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν.

ἡ δὲ φόβῳ συσχεθεῖσα παρεκάλεσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον  
αὐτῆς. καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἃ εἶδε. τότε λέγει πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ἡ μακαρία Ἀθανασία· ὄντως, κύριέ μου, καὶ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν  
70 νηπίων ἠθέλησά σοι εἰπεῖν καὶ ἡρυθρίων· ἰδοὺ οὖν καὶ μετὰ τὸν  
θάνατον αὐτῶν λέγω σοι· ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, βάλλεις με εἰς  
μοναστήριον καὶ κλαίω τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου. καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· ὕπαγε  
δοκίμασον τὸν λογισμόν σου μίαν ἐβδομάδα, καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιμείνης  
τῷ σκοπῷ τούτῳ, λαλοῦμεν.

75 ἡ δὲ πάλιν ἐλθοῦσα τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶπεν. καὶ μετακαλεῖται ὁ  
μακάριος Ἀνδρόνικος τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδίδει αὐτῷ  
πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι· εἰς τοὺς Ἀγίους  
Τόπους ὑπάγομεν εὐξασθαι· ἐὰν οὖν συμβῇ ἡμῖν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον,  
ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ὥς ἔχεις ποιῆσαι μετὰ τῆς οὐσίας ταύτης.  
80 παρακαλῶ δέ σε καὶ νοσοκομεῖον ποιῆσαι τὰ ὧδε καὶ ξενοδοχεῖον  
μοναχῶν. καὶ ἐλευθερώσας τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς

56 ἀδύνατον: οὐ δυνατὸν M || 57 τὸν Χριστὸν: τῷ Χριστῷ E P V || 58  
στερήσης: στερήσεις P || 60 κατενύγει codd. || 62 αὐτῇ om. M || ἡὔρεν E ||  
63 τῷ: τῇ P || 64 τὰς θύρας ante ἡσφαλισμένας transp. M V || 71 καὶ ante ἐὰν  
add. V || βάλης E || 78 ὑπάγωμεν P || 79 ἔχεις<sup>2</sup>: ἔχης P

58–59 Δικαιοκρίτα ... τῶν ἐπουρανίων: Ioh. Chrys., *De patientia, sermo* 1 (PG 60,  
col. 730, lin. 29–30)



## *7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

asks for food, it is impossible not to give it something to eat, so do the little children on that day ask Christ for the good things which are to come, saying: 'Righteous judge, you deprived us of the pleasures of earth; do not also deprive us of the joys of heaven.'"

When she heard this, she felt compunction and converted her moans into rejoicing, saying: "If my children are alive in heaven, why am I weeping?" She went around searching for the abba who had spoken to her, but she did not find him. She knocked for the door-keeper and said: "Where is the abba who came in here just now?" The door-keeper said to her: "You can see for yourself that all the doors are fastened, and yet you say: 'Where is the abba who came in here just now?'" And the door-keeper understood that she had seen a vision.

The woman was stricken with fear and asked to return to her home. And she told her husband what she had experienced. Then the blessed Athanasia said to him: "In truth, my lord, I wanted to say this to you even when the children were alive, but I was ashamed. But now, after their death, I say to you: 'If you want to listen to me, you will put me in a monastery, so that I may weep for my sins.'" He said to her: "Go and think about your idea for a week, and if you stand by your intention, we shall discuss it."

When she came back she said the same thing. The blessed Andronikos summoned his father-in-law and handed all their property over to him, saying: "We are going away to pray at the Holy Places. If we suffer the lot of humans, it is between you and God how you handle this property. However, I beg you to make this place into a hospital and a guest-house for monks." He freed his slaves and gave them bequests, and having

λεγάτα. καὶ λαβὼν μικρὰν εὐλογίαν καὶ δύο ἄλογα ἐξῆλθε νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ μόνοι.

85 ἡ δὲ μακαρία Ἀθανασία μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ἀναβλέψασα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· ὁ Θεός, ὁ εἰπὼν τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῇ Σάρρα· ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ δεῦρο εἰς γῆν, ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω, αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ νῦν ὁδήγησον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν φόβον σου. ἰδοὺ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐάσαμεν τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν ἠνεψυγμένον· μὴ κλείσης ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν τὴν θύραν  
90 τῆς βασιλείας σου. καὶ κλαύσαντες οἱ ἀμφότεροι ἀπῆλθον.

καὶ φθάσαντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους προσεκύνησαν καὶ συντυχόντες πολλοὺς πατέρας καταλαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἀπολαύουσι τοῦ μάρτυρος.

παρακύπτει οὖν ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην καὶ βλέπει  
95 μοναχὸν μετὰ λαϊκοῦ μάχην ποιοῦντα, καὶ λέγει τῷ λαϊκῷ· διατί ὑβρίζεις τὸν ἀββᾶν; λέγει αὐτῷ· δέσποτα, ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆτιν ἐμισθώσατο τὸ ζῶόν μου, καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· ἄγωμεν ἄρτι ἵνα ὁδεύσωμεν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ αὔριον ἕως ὥρας ἑκτῆς ἵνα φθάσωμεν πρὸ τοῦ καύματος, καὶ οὐ θέλει ἵνα ἄρτι ἀπέλθωμεν.  
100 λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κύρις Ἀνδρόνικος· ἔχεις ἄλλο ἐν ζῶον; λέγει αὐτῷ· ναί. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ· ὕπαγε φέρε μοι αὐτὸ καὶ ἐλθὲ καὶ λαμβάνω ἐγὼ τὸ ἐν ζῶον καὶ ὁ ἀββᾶς τὸ ἐν, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ εἰς Σκῆτιν θέλω κατελθεῖν.

ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρόνικος λέγει τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ· μέινον ὧδε εἰς τὸν  
105 Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν ἕως οὐ κατέρχομαι εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν καὶ εὐλογοῦμαι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀνέρχομαι. λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· λάβε με μετὰ σοῦ. λέγει αὐτῇ· γυνὴ οὐκ ἀπέρχεται εἰς Σκῆτιν. ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ μετὰ κλαυθοῦ· ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν, ἐὰν ἀπομείνης καὶ μὴ ἐλθὼν καταστήσης με εἰς μοναστήριον. καὶ  
110 ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐχωρίσθησαν.

83 μόνη V || 85 οὐράνιον M || 89 ἀνεψυγμένον P M V || 91 εἰς om. V || 94 ἐνάτην E P V || 97 ἄγωμεν V || 98 ἕως: ὥς V || ὥρας: ἡμέρας P ὥρα V || ἑκτῆς: σ' E || 101 αὐτὸ: αὐτῷ M V || 109 καταστήσης: καταστήσεις E M V βαστάσεις P

85–87 ὁ Θεός ... δείξω: Gen. 12:1

### *7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

taken a little blessed bread and two horses, he and his wife left the city by night, unescorted.

When she saw her house from afar, the blessed Athanasia looked up to heaven and said: “God, who said to Abram and to Sarah: ‘Go from your country and your kindred and to the land that I will show you,’ lead us now, too, in the fear of you. For your name’s sake we have left our house open; do not close the door of your kingdom in front of us.” And they both went away weeping.

When they arrived at the Holy Places, they worshipped and, after meeting with many fathers, they reached Saint Menas’ at Alexandria and had the benefit of the martyr.

About the ninth hour, Andronikos looked out and saw a monk disputing with a layman, so he said to the layman: “Why are you insulting the abba?” He said to him: “Master, he hired my beast to go to Sketis, and I said to him: ‘Let us go now and travel all night and tomorrow until the sixth hour, in order to arrive before the great heat of the day,’ but he does not want to leave now.” Lord Andronikos said to him: “Do you have another beast?” He answered him: “Yes.” Andronikos said to him: “Go and fetch it for me and come, and I will take one beast and the abba the other—for I too want to go to Sketis.”

Andronikos said to his wife: “Stay here at Saint Menas’ while I go to Sketis to be blessed by the fathers and return.” She said to him: “Take me with you.” He said to her: “A woman may not go to Sketis.” But she said to him in tears: “You will have to answer to Saint Menas, if you stay there and do not return and put me in a monastery.” And having taken leave of each other, they separated.

κατέβη δὲ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν, καὶ προσκυνήσας τοὺς  
πατέρας κατὰ λαύραν ἤκουσε τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἁββᾶ Δανιήλ, καὶ  
ἀπελθὼν κόπῳ πολλῷ ἠδυνήθη αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν. ἀνέθετο οὖν πάντα  
τῷ γέροντι. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· ἄπελθε φέρε τὴν γυναῖκά  
115 σου καὶ ποιῶ σοι γράμματα καὶ ἀποφέρεις αὐτὴν εἰς Θηβαΐδα εἰς  
μοναστήριον τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν.

ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρόνικος ἐποίησε καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων. καὶ  
ἀπελθὼν ἤνεγκεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν γέροντα· καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς  
τὸν λόγον τῆς σωτηρίας. καὶ ποιήσας γράμματα ἀπέστειλεν  
120 αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν. καὶ ἐπανα-  
λύσαντι τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων τὸ σχῆμα καὶ  
ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ ἔμεινεν παρ' αὐτῷ ἔτη  
δώδεκα.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεκάλεσε τὸν γέροντα ἀπολύσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ  
125 τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους. ὁ δὲ ποιήσας αὐτῷ εὐχὴν ἀπέλυσεν. ὁ δὲ  
ἁββᾶς Ἀνδρόνικος κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁδεύων ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω  
ἀκανθέας ἵνα λάβῃ ἀναψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ καύματος. καὶ ἰδοὺ κατ'  
οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐρχομένη ἐν ἀνδρικῷ σχήματι  
ἀπιοῦσα καὶ αὕτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους. καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι  
130 ἀλλήλους ἐγνώρισεν ἡ περιστερὰ τὸν ὁμόζυγον· αὐτὸς δὲ πῶς  
εἶχε γνωρίσαι τοιοῦτον κάλλος μαρανθὲν καὶ ὡς Αἰθίοπα  
φαινομένην; λέγει οὖν αὐτῷ· ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, κύρι ἁββᾶ; λέγει αὕτῃ·  
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους. λέγει αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ θέλω ἀπελθεῖν.  
{λέγει οὖν αὕτῃ·} καὶ εἰ θέλεις, ὁδεύσωμεν ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρω, ἀλλὰ  
135 ὡς μὴ ὄντες ὁμοῦ οὕτως ὁδεύσωμεν τῇ σιωπῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρόνικος  
λέγει· ὡς κελεύεις. λέγει αὐτῷ· ὄντως σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ  
ἁββᾶ Δανιήλ; λέγει αὕτῃ· ναί. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· αἱ εὐχαὶ τοῦ  
γέροντος συνοδεύουσιν ἡμῖν. λέγει ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος· ἀμήν.

συνοδεύσαντες οὖν καὶ προσκυνήσαντες τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους  
140 ἐπανέλυσαν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. καὶ λέγει ὁ ἁββᾶς Ἀθανάσιος τῷ

111 εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν: εἰσκῆτιν M || 112 κατὰ: καὶ τὴν V || τὰ om. V || 114  
γυναῖκάν V || 115 ἀποφέρης P || 119–120 αὐτοὺς ante γράμματα transp. V ||  
122 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ E P V || 123 δώδεκα: ιβ' E P || 124 μετὰ δέ: καὶ μετὰ P ||  
αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ E V || 127 ἀναψυχὴν scripsi secuta cod. Par. gr. 1598: ψυχὴν codd. ||  
133 καὶ ante λέγει add. P || 134 θέλεις: θέλης P || 136 αὕτῃ post λέγει<sup>1</sup> add. P ||  
ὁ om. P

## 7. *Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

He went down to Sketis, and while he was paying his respects to the fathers at each lavra, he heard of Abba Daniel. He went and, with great difficulty, was able to meet him. He explained everything to the elder, and the elder said to him: "Go back and bring your wife. I will write a letter for you, and you will take her to the Thebaid, to a monastery of the Tabennesiotes."

Andronikos did as the elder told him; he went away and brought her to the elder, who spoke the word of salvation to them. He wrote a letter and sent them to the monastery of the Tabennesiotes. When Andronikos returned, the elder clothed him with the monastic habit and taught him about the monks' way of life, and Andronikos lived with him for twelve years.

After that, he asked the elder to let him go to the Holy Places. The elder offered a prayer for him and let him go. As Abba Andronikos was travelling through Egypt, he sat down beneath an *akanthea* tree to refresh himself from the heat of the day. And then, by the providence of God, his wife came by dressed in a man's habit, for she too was on her way to the Holy Places. When they greeted each other, the dove recognized her mate; but how could he have recognised her, when her beauty was so wasted and she looked like an Ethiopian? She said to him: "Where are you going, lord abba?" He said to her: "To the Holy Places." She said to him: "I too want to go there. If you like, let us travel together, but let us travel in silence as though we were not together." Andronikos said: "As you wish." She said to him: "Indeed, are you not the disciple of Abba Daniel?" He said to her: "Yes." She said to him: "The prayers of the elder will travel with us." Andronikos said: "Amen."

After they had travelled together and worshipped the Holy Places, they returned to Alexandria. And Abba Athanasios said to Abba Andronikos:

ἄββᾱ Ἀνδρονίκῳ· θέλεις μείνωμεν ὁμοῦ εἰς κελλίον; λέγει ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος· ναί, ὡς κελεύεις· θέλω δὲ πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ γέροντος. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἄββᾱς Ἀθανάσιος· ὕπαγε, καὶ μένω σε εἰς τὸ Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, καὶ ἐὰν ἔρχῃ, ὡς  
 145 ὡδεύσαμεν τῇ σιωπῇ μένωμεν. ἐπεὶ ἐὰν μὴ θέλῃς οὕτως, μὴ ἔλθῃς. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἔχω μέναι.

ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ἡσπάσατο τὸν γέροντα καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ὁ δὲ γέρων λέγει αὐτῷ· ὕπαγε ἀγάπα τὴν σιωπὴν, καὶ μένον μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὅτι καλὸς ἐστίν.  
 150 ἐπαναλύσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐρόντος τὸν ἄββᾱν Ἀθανάσιον ἔμειναν ὁμοῦ ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ ἄλλα δώδεκα ἔτη, καὶ οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη τῷ ἄββᾱ Ἀνδρονίκῳ, ὅτι γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν.

πολλάκις οὖν ἀνέβαινεν ὁ γέρων εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτῶν διαλεγόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν. ἅπαξ οὖν ἀπελθὼν ὁ γέρων καὶ  
 155 συνταξάμενος αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἄββᾱς Ἀνδρόνικος, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὁ ἄββᾱς Ἀθανάσιος πρὸς Κύριον ὑπάγει. καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ γέρων εὗρεν αὐτὸν συνεχόμενον. καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν ὁ ἄββᾱς Ἀθανάσιος. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρῆναί σε ὅτι ἀπέρχῃ ἀπαντῆσαι  
 160 τῷ Χριστῷ κλαίεις; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἄββᾱς Ἀθανάσιος· οὐ κλαίω εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν ἄββᾱν Ἀνδρόνικον· ἀλλὰ ποιήσον ἀγάπην, καὶ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι με εὐρήσεις πιττάκιον κείμενον πρὸς κεφαλῆς μου. ἀνάγνωθι αὐτὸ καὶ δὸς τῷ ἄββᾱ Ἀνδρονίκῳ. καὶ ποιησάντων εὐχὴν ἐκοινώνησε καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ.

ἦλθον δὲ κηδεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδοὺ τῇ φύσει εὐρέθη γυνή, καὶ ἠκούσθη εἰς ὅλην τὴν λαύραν. καὶ πέμψας ὁ γέρων ἀνήνεγκεν ὅλην τὴν Σκῆτιν καὶ τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον. καὶ ἀνῆλθον πᾶσαι αἱ λαῦραι Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνῆλθε καὶ οἱ Σκητιῶται ἀσπροφοροῦντες. οὕτως γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἔθος ἐν τῇ  
 170 Σκῆτει. καὶ μετὰ κλάδων καὶ βαΐων ἐξεκόμισαν τὸ τίμιον λείψανον Ἀθανασίας δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεόν, τὸν τοσαύτην

141 μένομεν E M V || 145 μένομεν E M V || θέλεις P M V || 148 περὶ om. P || γέρων om. P || 151 δώδεκα: ιβ' E || 152 ἢ ante γυνή add. M V || 154 εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτῶν διαλεγόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν. ἅπαξ οὖν ἀπελθὼν ὁ γέρων post γέρων add. P || 162 εὐρήσης E || 163 αὐτῷ M V || 165 ἰδοὺ om. V || 169–170 οὕτως ... Σκῆτει om. P

## *7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

“Would you like us to live together in a cell?” Andronikos said: “Yes. As you wish, but first I would like to go and obtain the prayer of the elder.” Abba Athanasios said to him: “Go. I will wait for you at Oktokaidekaton and, if you come, let us live in silence just as we travelled. If you do not want this, do not come, for I will remain there.”

Andronikos went and greeted the elder, and told him about the brother. The elder said to him: “Go and devote yourself to silence, and live with the brother, for he is a good man.” He went there and found Abba Athanasios, and they lived together in the fear of God for another twelve years. And Abba Andronikos did not realize that she was his wife.

The elder often went up to visit them, speaking with them about edifying matters. Once, when the elder had gone up and taken leave of them, Abba Andronikos caught up with him before he reached Saint Menas’ and said to him: “Abba Athanasios is going to the Lord.” The elder returned and found him ill. Abba Athanasios began to weep. The elder said to him: “Are you weeping when you ought to be rejoicing that you are going to meet Christ?” Abba Athanasios said to him: “I am only weeping for Abba Andronikos. But do me a favour: when you have buried me, you will find a note under my pillow. Read it and give it to Abba Andronikos.” When they had offered a prayer, he received the communion and fell asleep in the Lord.

They went to bury him, and she was found to be a woman by nature, and this was heard around the whole lavra. The elder sent and brought the whole of Sketis and the inner desert. And all the lavras of Alexandria came, and the entire city congregated, and the fathers of Sketis were dressed in white, for that is the custom in Sketis. They escorted the venerable remains of Athanasia out to be buried, carrying branches and palm-leaves and glorifying God, who had granted such endurance to the

ὑπομονὴν παρασχόντα τῇ γυναικί. καὶ ἔμεινεν ὁ γέρων ποιῆσαι  
τὰ ἑβδομα τῆς Ἀθανασίας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠθέλησεν ὁ γέρων  
λαβεῖν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀνδρόνικον· καὶ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο  
175 λέγων ὅτι· μετὰ τῆς κυρίας μου τελευτήσω.

καὶ πάλιν συνταξαμένου τοῦ γέροντος πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαι αὐτὸν  
τὸν Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν φθάνει αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸς λέγων· ὁ ἀββᾶς  
Ἀνδρόνικος ἀκολουθεῖ τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀθανάσιον. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας  
ἔπεμψεν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει λέγων ὅτι· ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀνδρόνικος ἀκολουθεῖ  
180 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀθανάσιον. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀνῆλθον καὶ  
κατέλαβον αὐτὸν ζῶντα. καὶ εὐλογηθέντων αὐτῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ.

πόλεμος οὖν ἐγένετο μεταξὺ τῶν πατέρων τοῦ Ὀκτωκαι-  
δεκάτου μετὰ τῶν Σκητιωτῶν λεγόντων· ἡμέτερός ἐστιν ὁ  
185 ἀδελφός· καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν ἵνα βοηθῶσιν  
ἡμῖν αἱ εὐχαὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἔλεγον ὅτι·  
μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καταθήσομεν αὐτόν. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀββᾶς  
Δανιήλ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ταφῆναι. οἱ δὲ Σκητιῶται οὐκ ἤκουον  
αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· ὁ γέρων ἄνω ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ φοβεῖται πόλεμον  
190 σωματικόν. ἡμεῖς δὲ νεώτεροί ἐσμεν, καὶ θέλομεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
ἡμῶν ἵνα βοηθῶσιν ἡμῖν αἱ εὐχαὶ αὐτοῦ.

ιδὼν δὲ ὁ γέρων ὅτι ταραχὴ μεγάλη γίνεται λέγει τοῖς  
ἀδελφοῖς· φύσει ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσητέ μου, καὶ γὰρ ὧδε μένω καὶ μετὰ  
τῶν τέκνων μου θάπτομαι. καὶ τότε ἡσύχασαν καὶ ἐξεκόμισαν τὸ  
195 λείψανον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου. καὶ λέγουσι τῷ γέροντι·  
ἄγωμεν εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν. λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἄφετε ποιήσω τὰ ἑβδομα  
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ οὐκ εἴασαν αὐτὸν μέιναι.

εὐξώμεθα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ μέτρα τοῦ ἀββᾶ  
Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀθανασίου εὐχαῖς πάντων τῶν ἀγίων.  
200 ἀμήν.

172 παρασχόντα scripsi secuta cod. Par. gr. 1598: παρασχόντι codd. || ποιῆσαι om. P M V || 180 ἀδελφόν: ἀββᾶν V || 185 ἔχωμεν V || 187 καταθήσομεν P M || 189 αὐτοῦ: αὐτῶν P || 191 ἡμῶν om. V || 192 μεγάλη om. M || 196 ἄγωμεν E || 198 εὐξώμεθα V



## *7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

woman. The elder stayed for the week of commemoration for Athanasia, and after that the elder wanted to take Abba Andronikos with him, but he did not comply, saying: "I will die with my lady."

When the elder had taken leave again, a brother caught up with him before he reached Saint Menas' and said: "Abba Andronikos is following Abba Athanasios." When he heard it, he sent word to Sketis saying: "Abba Andronikos is following Brother Athanasios." When they heard it, they went up and found him alive. And when they had received his blessing, he fell asleep in the Lord.

Then hostilities arose between the fathers of Oktokaidekaton and those of Sketis who said: "The brother is ours and we are going to take him to Sketis so that his prayers may help us." Those of Oktokaidekaton said: "We will lay him to rest with his sister." Also Abba Daniel said that he was to be buried there. But the fathers of Sketis would not listen to him and said: "The elder belongs to heaven, and has no fear of the war of the flesh. But we are younger, and we want our brother so that his prayers may help us."

When the elder realised that a great disturbance was in the making, he said to the brothers: "Indeed, if you do not listen to me, I too will remain here and be buried with my children." Then they became quiet and escorted the remains of Brother Andronikos out to be buried. And they said to the elder: "Let us go to Sketis." He said to them: "Let me make the week of commemoration for the brother." But they would not let him stay.

Let us pray, we too, that by the prayers of all the saints, we might reach the level of Abba Andronikos and Abba Athanasios. Amen.

## 8. Περὶ τῆς πατρικίας Ἀναστασίας

Εὐνοῦχος τις ἔμενεν εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον τῆς Σκήτεως·  
ἅπαξ οὖν τῆς ἐβδομάδος παρέβαλλε τῷ ἄββᾳ Δανιήλ νυκτὸς  
μηδενὸς γινώσκοντος εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
5 παρήγγειλε δὲ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ ὁ γέρων ἵνα γεμίζη κεράμιον  
ὔδατος τῷ αὐτῷ εὐνούχῳ ἅπαξ τῆς ἐβδομάδος, καὶ τιθῶν τὸ  
κεράμιον εἰς τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούων ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως  
ὁμιλεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐάν ποτε, φησὶν, εὔρης ὄστρακον  
ἐπιγεγραμμένον εἰς τὴν θύραν τοῦ σπηλαίου, φέρε αὐτό. οὕτως  
10 οὖν ἐποίει ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ ἄββᾳ Δανιήλ.

ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν εὕρισκει ὄστρακον ἐπιγεγραμμένον  
οὕτως· φέρε τὰ ἐργαλεῖα καὶ δεῦρο μόνος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ  
ἀναγνοὺς ὁ γέρων τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔκλαυσε κλαυθμὸν μέγαν καὶ  
εἶπε· ἀβάλε τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ ἐρήμῳ, ποῖον στῦλον ἐξαφεῖ σήμερον. καὶ  
15 λέγει τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· βάστασον τὰ σκεύη, καὶ ἄγωμεν  
συντόμως ὅπως φθάσωμεν ἔτι ζῶντα τὸν γέροντα· πρὸς Κύριον  
γὰρ ὑπάγει.

καὶ κλαύσαντες ἀμφότεροι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ εὕρισκουσιν αὐτὸν  
πυρετῷ συνεχόμενον· καὶ ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν ὁ γέρων εἰς τὸ στῆθος  
20 αὐτοῦ, καὶ κλαύσας εἶπε· μακάριος εἰ ὅτι τῆς ὥρας ταύτης  
φροντίζων κατεφρόνησας βασιλείας ἐπιγείου καὶ ἀνθρώπων. καὶ  
εἶπεν ὁ εὐνοῦχος· μακάριος εἰ σύ, νέε Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι πολλοὺς  
καρποὺς δέχεται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου τούτων. καὶ λέγει  
αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· ποίησον ἡμῖν εὐχήν. ἀπεκρίθη ὁ εὐνοῦχος· ἐγὼ  
25 χρεῖαν ἔχω πολλῶν εὐχῶν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων·  
εἰ προελάβανον ἐγώ, εἶχον ἂν προσεύξασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι.  
καὶ ἀνακαθίσας ἐκ τοῦ ψιαθίου ὁ εὐνοῦχος περιλαμβάνει τὴν

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ΕΡΜV

tit. ις' ante Περὶ in marg. add. V || ἀναστασίας ante τῆς πατρικίας transp. P || ἀναστάσεως V || 3 παρέβαλε E || νυκτὸς om. P || 7 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. P || 8 ὁμιλεῖν: λαλεῖν V || 9 εἰς: ἐπὶ P || 11 δέ: οὖν V || 13 μέγαν: μέγα E om. V || 14 ἀβάλε: ἄβαλα P ἀβάλλε M || ἐξαφεῖ: ἐξαφῇ E M V || 15 βάστασον: βάσταζον E βάσταζον V || 20-21 ταύτης post φροντίζων transp. M || 21 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. M || 23 σου om. P

## 8. Anastasia Patrikia

A eunuch was living in the inner desert of Sketis. Once a week he came to Abba Daniel at night, unbeknown to anybody except to him and his disciple. The elder told his disciple to fill a pot with water for this eunuch once a week, and, having set the pot at the door and knocked, to leave and not speak at all to him. "But", he said, "if you ever find a potsherd with writing on it at the door of the cave, bring it." And this is what the disciple of Abba Daniel used to do.

Then, one day, he found a sherd on which was written: "Bring your tools and come alone with your brother." When the elder read the writing, he broke into bitter lamentation and said: "Woe to the inner desert! What a pillar it will lose this day!" And he said to his disciple: "Take the equipment and let us go immediately so that we arrive while the elder is still alive, for he is going to the Lord."

In tears they both went away and found him afflicted with fever. The elder threw himself down at his chest and said to him, weeping: "Blessed are you who, in devoting your attention to this hour, despised an earthly kingdom of men." The eunuch said: "Blessed are you, a new Abraham, since God receives many fruits from these hands of yours!" The elder said to him: "Offer a prayer for us." The eunuch replied: "It is I who need many prayers at this hour." The elder said to him: "If I had gone before you, I should have been able to pray and bring you comfort." Sitting up on his mat, the eunuch took the elder's head and kissed it, saying:

κεφαλὴν τοῦ γέροντος καὶ καταφιλεῖ αὐτὴν λέγων· ὁ Θεὸς ὁ  
 ὁδηγήσας με εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον αὐτὸς πληρώσει μετὰ τοῦ  
 30 γήρους σου ὡς μετὰ Ἀβραάμ. καὶ λαβὼν ὁ γέρων τὸν μαθητὴν  
 αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ εὐνούχου λέγων·  
 εὐλόγησον τὸ τέκνον μου, πάτερ. καὶ καταφιλήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν  
 αὐτῷ· ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παρεστηκώς μοι ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ τοῦ χωρίσαι με  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ σκηνώματος τούτου, ὁ εἰδὼς πόσα βήματα ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸ  
 35 κελλίον τοῦτο διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, αὐτὸς ἀνάπαυσον τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν  
 πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς ἀνέπαυσας τὸ πνεῦμα Ἑλίου ἐπὶ  
 Ἑλισσαιέ, καὶ κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐπ'  
 αὐτόν.

καὶ λέγει τῷ γέροντι· διὰ τὸν Κύριον μὴ ἀποδύσητέ με ἅ φορῶ,  
 40 ἀλλ' ὥς εἰμι οὕτως πέμψατέ με πρὸς Κύριον, καὶ μὴ μάθῃ ἄλλος  
 τις τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι· καὶ λέγει τῷ γέροντι· δός  
 μοι κοινωνῆσαι· καὶ κοινωνήσας λέγει· δότε μοι ἀγάπην τὴν ἐν  
 Χριστῷ, καὶ εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ κατὰ  
 ἀνατολὰς λέγει· καλῶς ἦλθετε· ἄγωμεν. καὶ ἔλαμψε τὸ πρόσωπον  
 45 αὐτοῦ ὡς πῦρ, καὶ ποιεῖ εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ σταυρὸν καὶ λέγει·  
 εἰς χεῖράς σου, ὁ Θεός, παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· καὶ οὕτως  
 παρέδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ.

καὶ κλαύσαντες ἀμφότεροι ὤρυξαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ σπηλαίου·  
 καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος ὁ γέρων ἅ ἐφόρει λέγει τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ·  
 50 ἔνδυσον αὐτὸν ἐπάνω ὧν φορεῖ. ἐφόρει δὲ φασκίαν σίβινον ἔσωθεν  
 καὶ κεντόνιον. ἐνδύων δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς προσέσχε καὶ ἐπέγνω  
 ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐλάλησε. θάψαντες δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ  
 ποιήσαντες εὐχὴν λέγει ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· καταλύσωμεν  
 σήμερον τὴν νηστείαν καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἀγάπην ἐπάνω τοῦ  
 55 γέροντος· καὶ κοινωνήσαντες εὖρον αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὀλίγους

31 μου: σου P || 38 αὐτόν: αὐτῷ V || 39 διὰ τὸν Κύριον om. P || ἀποδύσετέ E  
 M V || με: μοι P || 40 με ante πέμψατέ transp. P || ἄλλος: ἄλλως V || 41 τις  
 om. V || 42 κοινωνήσας eras. M || 43 καὶ post δεξιὰ add. M || 44 ἦλθες M || 46  
 παραθήσωμαι P || 51–52 ὁ ἀδελφὸς ... αὐτὸν ex homoeoteleut. om. V

36–37 ἀνέπαυσας ... Ἑλισσαιέ: cf. 4 Reg. 2:15 || 37–38 κληθήσεται ... αὐτόν:  
 cf. Gen. 48:16 || 46 εἰς χεῖράς ... μου: Ps. 30(31):6; Lc. 23:46

## 8. Anastasia Patrikia

“God, who led me into this place, will make your old age full, as he did for Abraham.” The elder took hold of his disciple and threw him at the eunuch’s feet, saying: “Bless my child, father.” Kissing him, the eunuch said to him: “God, you who stand beside me at this hour in order to separate me from this body, you who know how many steps the disciple took to this cell for the sake of your name, let the spirit of his fathers rest upon him, even as you let the spirit of Elijah rest upon Elisha, and may the name of his fathers be invoked upon him.”

And he said to the elder: “For the sake of the Lord, do not strip me of what I am wearing, but send me to the Lord as I am, and do not let anybody other than you two alone know about me.” He said to the elder: “Give me the communion.” When he had received the communion, he said: “Give me the kiss of peace in Christ, and pray for me.” And looking to the right, eastward, he said: “Welcome. Let us go.” His face lit up like fire, and he made the sign of the cross on his mouth and said: “Into your hands, oh God, I will commend my spirit.” And thus he surrendered his soul to the Lord.

They both wept and started digging in front of the cave. The elder took off what he was wearing and said to his disciple: “Dress him in this on top of what he is wearing.” He was wearing a breast-band of palm-fibre closest and then a patched garment. While the brother was dressing him, he looked and discovered that it was a woman, but he did not say anything. When they had buried him and offered a prayer, the elder said to his disciple: “Let us break our fast today and celebrate an *agape* for the elder.” When they had communicated, they found that he had some pieces

παξαμάδας καὶ βρεκτά. καὶ ποιήσαντες ἀγάπην ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 βαστάσαντες τὴν σειρὰν ἣν ἔκαμνεν ἀπῆλθον εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ  
 Θεῷ.

60 ὁδευόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν λέγει ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῷ  
 γέροντι· οἶδας, πάτερ, ὅτι ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐκεῖνος γυνὴ ἦν; λέγει ὁ  
 γέρων· οἶδα, τέκνον, ὅτι γυνὴ ἐστὶ· θέλεις ἐξηγήσωμαί σοι τὰ  
 περὶ αὐτῆς; ἄκουσον· αὕτη πρώτη πατρικία ἦν τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἠθέλησε λαβεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον  
 65 διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σύνεσιν αὐτῆς. μανθάνει οὖν ἡ Θεοδώρα καὶ  
 ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ἐξορίσαι αὐτήν. γνωστὸν δὲ αὐτῇ  
 γέγονε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ νυκτὸς μισθωσαμένη πλοῖον ἐπάρασά τινα  
 τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς καταλαμβάνει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ  
 κατοικεῖ εἰς τὸ Πέμπτον. ἐν οἷς καὶ μοναστήριον συνεστήσατο  
 καὶ λέγεται τῆς Πατρικίας ἕως τῆς σήμερον.

70 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὴν Θεοδώραν πάλιν μανθάνει ὅτι  
 βουλεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταστείλασθαι αὐτήν. αὐτὴ δὲ ἔφυγε  
 νυκτὸς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἦλθεν ἐνταῦθα πρὸς με καὶ  
 ἀνέθετό μοι πάντα καὶ παρεκάλεσε δοῦναι αὐτῇ κελλίον ἔξω τῆς  
 Σκήτεως. καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦτο. καὶ μετημφιάσατο  
 75 τὸ ἀνδρικὸν σχῆμα. ἶδε οὖν ἔχει σήμερον εἰκοσιοκτὼ ἔτη ἐν τῇ  
 Σκήτει, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὰ εἰς αὐτὴν εἰ μὴ σὺ καὶ ἄλλος εἷς.  
 πόσους οὖν μαγιστριανοὺς ἔπεμψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναζητῶν αὐτήν,  
 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πάπας καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια. καὶ  
 οὐδεὶς ἔμαθεν ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶν ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.

80 καὶ οἱ μὲν βασιλικῶς ἀνατραφέντες ἀγωνίζονται κατὰ τοῦ  
 διαβόλου καὶ συντρίβουσιν αὐτῶν τὸ σῶμα, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ  
 γενόμενοι ἄρτου οὐκ εὐποροῦμεν χορτασθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὸ  
 μοναχικὸν ἐλθόντες σπαταλῶμεν καὶ ἀρετὴν οὐ δυνάμεθα  
 κτήσασθαι. εὐξώμεθα οὖν ὅπως καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος ἀξίους ποιήσῃ  
 85 τοῦ δρόμου τῶν ἀγίων καὶ εὐρεῖν ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν

57 βαστάσαντες: βαστάζαντες E βαστάξαντες V || 59 αὐτῶν om. E || 60 ἦν:  
 ἐστὶν P || 61 ἐξηγήσωμαί E M V || 63 αὐτοῦ post παλάτιον add. V || 65  
 ἀγανακτῇ M || 71 βουλεύεται: βούλεται P V || 74 αὐτήν M || εἰκοσιοκτὼ: κη'  
 E || 77 μαγιστριανοὺς: μεγιστάνους E || 81 δὲ om. V || 83 σπαταλοῦμεν  
 codd. || 84 εὐξόμεθα V || ποιήσει P M V

## 8. Anastasia Patrikia

of dried bread and soaked pulse. And they celebrated an *agape* for him and took the rope he had been making and went their way thanking God.

As they travelled on their way, the brother said to the elder: “Do you know, father, that that eunuch was a woman?” The elder said: “I know, child, that she is a woman. Do you want me to tell you about her? Listen! She was a *patrikia* of the highest rank of the royal court, and the emperor Justinian wanted to take her into the palace because of her great intelligence. But Theodora learnt of it and was annoyed and decided to exile her. But this matter became known to her and she hired a ship at night, took some of her possessions and reached Alexandria and settled at Pempton. There she also founded a monastery which is called The Patrikia’s to this day.

When Theodora had died she again learnt that the emperor was planning to send for her. But she fled from Alexandria at night and came here to me and confided everything to me and asked me to give her a cell outside Sketis. I gave her this cave and she changed her clothes for a man’s. Now, today she has been in Sketis for twenty-eight years and nobody has learnt about her except for you and one other. How many officials the emperor sent in search of her, and not only him, but the patriarch too and the whole of Alexandria! Yet nobody learnt where she was until today.”

Those who are brought up at court are fighting against the devil and tormenting their bodies. We, on the other part, who were born in the world, cannot find bread to eat our fill, and when we enter monastic life we live in laxity and are unable to acquire virtue. Let us pray that the Lord will make us, too, worthy of the path of the saints, and to find mercy together with our fathers, and with Abba Anastasios the Eunuch,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Εὐνούχου· Ἀναστασία γὰρ  
ἐκαλεῖτο.

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**86** τοῦ εὐνούχου in marg. E



## **8. *Anastasia Patrikia***

**for he was called Anastasia.**

# Commentary

## 1. Abba Daniel from Sketis

2 Οὗτος ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ: the word οὗτος may suggest that this story was not the first in order in the original Daniel dossier. Possibly it was the second after the story of Mark the Fool, which is placed second in order by the Scor./Mosq. Daniel dossiers. In the Daniel dossier of the MS Par. Coisl. 282 this story is placed as chapter no. 2 (κεφάλαιον β') with the *inc.*: 'Ο αὐτὸς ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ ("The same Abba Daniel"). For further discussion, see Commentary on 2:2 and Introduction, Chapter I, part 3.

2 ἐκ παιδόθεν: the *AP* contain many sayings mentioning children in the desert, often warning against the danger of temptation; see Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 34–38. However, as pointed out by Vivian ("Witness", 8, n. 32), this might be a hagiographical *topos*.

2 ἀπετάξατο: in Christian literature the verb ἀποτάσσεσθαι is often used in the meaning "renounce the world (i.e. marriage and traditional social life)", "become monk"; see Lampe, s.v. ἀποτάσσω D. The term ἀποτακτικός (as well as μοναχός and ἀναχωρητής) for "monk" is frequently used in the early papyri; see Rubenson, *Letters of St. Antony*, 116–117. Cf. also Lambert, "Apotactites et apotaxamènes", 2604–2629, and Rothenhaeusler & Oppenheim, "Apotaxis", 558–564.

2–4 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ... ἤσκειτο: this sentence does not occur in the redactions of e.g. the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283. For the similarities with expressions in the story of the monk falsely accused of theft (*BHG* 2101a (Clugnet, no. 11), 2101c, and PE II.1.8.2), and a discussion of the derivation of the sentence, see Introduction, Chapter I, part 2.2. For a discussion of the chronology of Daniel's life, see Introduction, Chapter I, part 4.

4–5 ἐπιρρίψαντες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἤχμαλώτευσαν αὐτόν: there are several descriptions of barbarians plundering and even killing the desert fathers in the *AP*; see Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 147–148. Sketis often seems to have been exposed to barbarian raids. It was destroyed 407–408. Probably there was a big devastation around 570–580, after which Sketis was abandoned and the

remaining brothers were dispersed for a generation. However, the present episode would have occurred before the devastation, because later on (see line 14, below) Daniel visits the patriarch Timotheos, who would be Timotheos III, patriarch ca. 517–535. For the barbarian attacks on Sketis, see Chitty, *The Desert a City*, 60–61, 66–71, 144–145, and Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 150–167, 249–251.

For the confusion with the Daniel of the *AP/G*, a disciple of Arsenios in the fifth century who also confronted barbarians coming to Sketis, which is evident in some of the MSS containing the Sabaitic collection of the *AP*, see Introduction, Chapter III, part 2.1. On this Daniel, see Introduction, Chapter I, part 3 (no. 2 on the list).

5–6 τις ἀνὴρ φιλόχριστος: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 adds ναύκληρος (“shipmaster”). The God-fearing shipmaster is a well-known character in early Christian stories. For examples in *PratSpir*, see Vivian, “Witness”, 32, n. 124.

7 μετ’ ὀλίγον χρόνον: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has μετὰ δύο ἔτη (“after two years”).

10 ἐν μιᾷ οὖν εὐρὼν εὐκαιρίαν: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has a more explicit description: καί τις ἀνὴρ τῶν αἰχμαλωτευσάντων αὐτὸν καθίσας πρὸς ὕδωρ (“and one of the men who had taken him prisoner was sitting down to pass water”). Clugnet (*ROC* 6, 61, n. 1 / vi, n. 1) claims that the expression πρὸς ὕδωρ together with ναύκληρος (see Commentary on lines 5–6, above) seems to prove that the barbarians came from Marmarica (the coastal area between Egypt and Cyrene) and the desert of Barca (west of Cyrene), where tribes of bad reputation lived. Apparently he is translating καθίσας πρὸς ὕδωρ by “was sitting down by the water”, but, if this is a correct translation, the water does not have to be the Mediterranean Sea. It could have been any watercourse and his purpose to drink from it. But it is more likely that the meaning is “was sitting down to pass water”. Giachanatzes (p. 40) translates it by συνέβη νά στραφεί πρὸς σωματική του ἀνάγκη (“it happened that he turned to relieve himself”). Cf. the Modern Greek expression πάω πρὸς νερού μου (“go to pass water”); see Babinotis, s.v. νερό 3.(β). A kind of parallel might be the expression πρὸς τόπον καθεζεσθαι in *VSymSal* 125.1–2, which seems to mean “to defecate”. Cf. also the ancient writer Herodotos, who reports of the Egyptians: *Historiae* 2.35 οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι (“Women pass water standing, men sitting”). In any case, Daniel has taken advantage of

### 1. Abba Daniel from Sketis

the enemy's exposed position to kill him, and therefore he wants to spend the rest of his life making penance.

14 Τιμοθέω τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ: this is most probably Timotheos III, who was patriarch of Alexandria ca. 517–535; cf. Commentary on lines 4–5, above.

19 τῷ πάπῳ Ῥώμης: this Pope of Rome could have been either of the six elected during the Alexandrian patriarchate of Timotheos III: Hormisdas (514–523), John I (523–526), Felix IV (III) (526–530), Boniface II (530–532), John II (533–535), and Agapetus I (535–536). He would have been a supporter of the Tome of Leo settled by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, as opposite to Timotheos III, who was an anti-Chalcedonian (i.e. a Monophysite).

20–21 ἀπῆλθεν ... καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ... τοῖς πατριάρχαις: the mentioning of Ephesos is odd, since it would not have been a patriarchate, but part of the patriarchate of Constantinople. However, Ephesos did have an archbishop, and it seems that the terms ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (lines 14 and 15) and πατριάρχης (line 21) are not used consistently. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 speaks simply of archbishops. It has ἀνέθετο τὰ τοῦ φόνου, τὸν λόγον ὃν ἤκουσε παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων ἤκουσε καὶ πάλιν for the text on lines 21–23 καὶ ἀνέθετο τοῖς πατριάρχαις ... εἶπον αὐτῷ. There is a description of a similar journey of confession in a story in the MS Vat. gr. 2592, f. 235r–v. Here, though, the purpose is to be released from a punishment: A deacon is forbidden to participate in the services by his presbyter as a punishment for committing a sin against him. The presbyter dies without having released the deacon from the punishment. The deacon then travels to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Rome, Jerusalem, and to the fathers of the desert, but in vain; see Canart, “Le Vat. gr. 2592”, 124. Cf. also the similar story in *AP/GS* XV.111.

As is evident from the Daniel texts, extensive travelling by the monks was common. They went to the nearest village to sell their products, to further regions to visit other monks and church leaders, or on pilgrimages to the holy places; see Malamut, *Route des saintes, passim*, and Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 150–161.

27–30 ἐπειδὴ μάχην ... κολάσεως: models for this long sentence in bureaucratic style can be found in papyri and official documents. For examples, see the following papyri in Pestman, *Papyrological Primer*: 12.3–9 (*S.B.* 1

5216); 16 I.2–11 (*P.Lond.* 6 1912); 53.6–26 (*P.S.I.* 12 1243); 76.8–22 (*P.Lips.* 28). Cf. also Rosenqvist, *Studien*, 51.

35 ὕπαγε εὕξαι: for this asyndetic construction, see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 1, and BDR, § 461.1. Cf. also e.g. 2:20 ὕπαγε ἴδε; 4A:15 / 4B:15 ὕπαγε κατασφράγισαι; 5:22–23 ὕπαγε κροῦσον; 5:78 ὕπαγε βλέπε; 6:176 ὕπαγε μηκέτι ποιήσης; 6:196 ἔγειρε λάβε; 6:197 ὕπαγε κάμε; 6:203 ἔγειρε κάμε; 7:101 ὕπαγε φέρε; and 7:114 ἄπελθε φέρε.

41 λελωβημένον: the perfect passive participle of the verb λωβάομαι (“to mutilate”) is here = λεπρός. Another story about the holy act of the caring for a leper is found in *HL* 21, where a man called Eulogios does not wish to enter into a community, but instead takes care of a leper, saying (21.4): Κύριε, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου λαμβάνω τοῦτον τὸν λελωβημένον καὶ διαναπαύω αὐτὸν μέχρι θανάτου, ἵνα διὰ τούτου καὶ γὼ σωθῶ. (“Lord, in your name I will take this leper and look after him until death, so that I, too, may be saved through him.”) Both Gregory of Nazianzos and Gregory of Nyssa call leprosy the “sacred disease”, identifying the lepers with the biblical beggar Lazarus in Luke 16. Expelled from human society due to the fear of contagion, the leper became a symbol of the poor suffering beggar, an image of Lazarus who gained salvation through suffering. The leper’s physical disease is reformed into sanctity, while the image of the contagious leprosy is used metaphorically of the soul. An image of “reverse contagion” is used: the physical contact with the sacred leper results in a holy “contagion” and thus a spiritual healing of the diseased soul (“the leprosy of the soul”) for the person in contact, who is physically well; see Holman, *The Hungry are Dying*, 135–167. Basil of Caesarea as well as John Chrysostom founded hospitals in order to take care of people caught by disease, and especially lepers; see Temkin, *Hippocrates*, 162–164.

43 εἰς Αἴγυπτον: i.e. to the common society away from the desert, towards the Nile.

46 ὥραν ἑκτην: i.e. at noon.

53–55 καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι ... αὐτοῦ: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has a more elaborate description of the work of Daniel: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ γέρων εἰς τὸ κελλίον (167v) καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν σεμίδαλιν, καὶ ἐνεβρωμάτιζεν αὐτὸν δι’ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὸν χεῖρας, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καταπιεῖν

τὸ αὐτοῦ βρῶμα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πάνυ σεσαθρωμένον. ὁ δὲ γέρων κατέμασσε τὸ στόμα τοῦ λελωβημένου ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ καὶ ἔβαλλεν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον στόμα. (“The elder entered his cell and brought the finest wheat-flour and fed the leper himself, because he had no hands, and because he could not swallow his food because he was completely purulent. The elder wiped the leper’s mouth with his own hands and put <the food> into his own mouth.”)

54 κατέμασσε: though I keep the MSS reading, there is a possibility that the original word may have been κατεμάσησε (“chewed”). This rare word would make good sense here. Most probably there were persons in Antiquity who chewed the food for others. From Byzantine times we have evidence in the writings of Michael Choniates, who was Archbishop of Athens 1182–1204. He says in his fifth homily (*Or.* 5.52, ed. Lampros, p. 125, lines 1–3): οὕτως ἀφελῶς ὑμῖν καὶ σαφῶς ὠμίλησα καὶ τὴν τροφὴν παρεθέμην ἀληλεσμένην, μᾶλλον δὲ διεμασησάμην ὑμῖν ὡς αἱ τίτθαι τοῖς βρέφεσι (“in this way I preached simply and clearly to you and served the food ground, yea, I chewed it for you as nurses do for babies”). For καταμασάομαι, see LSJ, s.v. The active voice of the verb μασάω is known from post-classical Greek; see Demetrakos, s.v. μασῶ.

## 2. Abba Mark the Fool

Tit. τοῦ σαλοῦ: the meaning of the word σαλός is “imbecile”. However, it gradually became a technical term for “a holy fool”, a holy person who pretended to be a fool. In this story the word is used mostly in the original meaning, but as an epithet to the name of Mark in the title, and elsewhere, the term is used technically. For more on this word, and for a discussion on Mark and other holy fools, see Introduction, Chapter II, parts 1–3.

2 Τούτῳ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ συνώκησεν ἀδελφός: the *inc.* of this story may seem somewhat confusing, since the first word is a demonstrative pronoun (Τούτῳ) without a conjunction. The demonstrative pronoun οὗτος (as well as ὅδε and other demonstrative pronouns) can have an indefinite function, meaning “such-and-such”; see LSJ (*Supplement*), s.v. C.I.6, and Blomqvist, “οὗτος”, 79–91. However, this meaning is mostly used in abstract situations; see Blomqvist, “οὗτος”, 88–89. But in this function οὗτος can also be used as a replacement for a piece of information, e.g. a name, which the author is not able or willing to reveal; see Blomqvist, “οὗτος”, 89. Here, it might be a way of introducing the disciple; cf. 3:24–25: τόνδε τὸν ἀπὸ ὀμμάτων. See also Smyth § 1249.

However, there is reason to believe that there is here a lacuna. Some other redactions have a preceding sentence mentioning Daniel of Sketis and his disciple. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 places this story first in order in its Daniel dossier: *inc.* Ἦν τις γέρων ἐν τῇ Σκήτει ὀνόματι Δανιήλ, καὶ εἶχε μαθητήν· συνώκησε δὲ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸς κ.τ.λ. (“There was an elder in Sketis of the name of Daniel, and he had a disciple, and a brother lived with his disciple etc.”). After this story the MS Par. Coisl. 282 gives the story of Daniel from Sketis (*BHG* 2100). For further discussion, see Commentary on 1:2 and Introduction, Chapter I, part 3.

4–5 ἔδωκεν ... παρρησίαν: silence, as well as solitude and renunciation, was an important part of the monastic life. The relationship between an elder and his disciple was based on reservation and solemnity. The disciple was supposed to learn by *watching* the elder, not by talking and listening to him; see Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 131–132. Several sayings in the *AP* warn against the danger of



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words; see Burton-Christie, *The Word*, 136–143. However, there are also sayings with a more positive attitude to *parrêsia*. For examples, see Gould, *Desert Fathers*, 166, n. 113. In this case one has to imagine that the disciple grieves the loss of his fellow-brother, and Daniel affords him consolation.

7 τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Σκήτεως: this indicates that Daniel was the *hegumenos* of Sketis at this time. Also in the title of the Coptic *Life of Abba Daniel* published by Guidi (*ROC* 5, 535, Ital. tr.: 553 / 83, Ital. tr.: 100), Daniel is called “*hegumenos* of Sketis”. The *hegumenos* (lit. ruler) was the presbyter or monk who was the leader of the others in a group which represented a church or a monastery. In Sketis the head of all four monasteries was called the “father of Sketis”, and he represented Sketis in its relations with the patriarch and the mundane world. In the sixth century this title had changed to “*hegumenos* of Sketis”; see Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 178–180, Wipszycka, “Hegumenos”, 4, 1215–1216, and Cody, “Scetis”, 7, 2103.

8 τὸν πάπαν: i.e. the patriarch of Alexandria. The title πάπας (“pope”) was given to the archbishops of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Rome. Cf. lines 33, 34, 35, 53, and 54, below.

8 τῇ μεγάλῃ ἑορτῇ: i.e. Easter.

9 ὥς περὶ ὥραν ἑνδεκάτην: i.e. at about five in the afternoon. The MS Par. Coisl. 283 has περὶ ὥραν δεκάτην (“towards the tenth hour”).

10 γυμνόν: i.e. in his underwear. Cf. 3:3 and 3:11.

10 καμψαρικόν: the noun καμψαρικόν is obviously a derivation of the word καμψάριος (also spelled καψάριος) from the Latin *capsarius*. According to *OLD*, s.v. *capsarius*, this was a) “a slave who carried a boy’s book-case”, b) “one who looked after clothes etc., at the baths”, or c) “a soldier, the nature of whose duties is unknown”. In Greek it seems to have been used mostly in the sense of b) (see *LSJ (Supplement)*, s.vv. καμψάριος and καψάριος), and the καμψαρικόν would have been a loin-cloth worn by a baths attendant; see Lampe, s.v. referring to this occurrence.

11 ψυῶν: the MSS have ὤμων (except V, which has ὄμω) “shoulders”, which is most probably corrupt. The error may have risen when a copyist mistook ψ for an ω and υ for a μ. The MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283 have ψοιῶν (= ψυῶν).

12 καὶ ἦσαν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι σαλοί: the *saloi* around Mark are genuine half-wits, cf. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 64, and Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 308, 340. Ivanov (*Holy Fools*, 100), on the other hand, believes that they, too, were holy fools, and that this demonstrates that there was “a kind of commune of fools in Alexandria”. However, they are never described as pretending to be insane like Mark (see lines 11–12, and 44). The story is told from different perspectives. The narrator tells the truth to the reader, but also gives the people’s view of Mark and the other persons around him. They are all regarded as imbeciles, which was also the intention by Mark himself.

12–13 καὶ περιῆγεν ὡς σαλὸς καὶ ἐξηχεύόμενος: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηχεύόμενος (“The brother went around with the other mad persons”).

13 ἐξηχεύόμενος: according to the dictionaries there are only two known occurrences of the word ἐξηχεύομαι. The word ἐξηχευομένη is recorded in Hesychios, where it is = βακχευθεῖσα (“inspired with frenzy”), and ἐξηχεύη is recorded in a Greek-Latin glossary by Pseudo-Philoxenos, published in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 2, 189.52, where it is translated by “*stupes*” (“you are stunned, bewildered etc.”); see LSJ (*Supplement*), s.v. ἐξηχεύομαι I–II. According to *TGL*, s.v. Ἐξηχεύεσθαι, the word ἐξηχεύη seems to be used in the place of ἐξηχῆ, which derives from ἐξηχέομαι, in this case meaning “to utter senseless sounds”, and hence “to be insane”; see LSJ, s.v. ἐξηχέω II, and Sophocles, s.v. ἐξηχέω 2. Clugnet, in his edition of the story from the MS Par. Coisl. 283 (*ROC* 5, 60, line 12 / 12, line 12), corrects to ἐξηχούμενος. However, since all MSS, as well as the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283, have the same reading, I have kept it. The meaning of ἐξηχεύομαι should be the same as of ἐξηχέομαι (i.e. “to be insane”). The word is here clearly used as an equivalent to σαλός. Cf. line 19: τὴν ἐξηχίαν. On the vocabulary of the folly, see Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 279–282; Déroche, *Léontios de Néapolis*, 156–157, and Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 62–66.

14–15 δημόσιον δέ ἐστιν ὁ Ἴππος: Clugnet (*ROC* 6, 68 with n. 1 / xiii with n. 1) believes that ὁ Ἴππος (“the Horse”) is a hippodrome. So also van

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Cauwenbergh, *Les moines d'Égypte*, 15, and recently Krueger in his translation of Mark the Fool, “Tales of Holy Fools”, 182–183. Regnault (*SPD anon.* no. 1596,3) even translates Μάρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἰππου by “Marc de l’hippodrome”. But, as claimed by Grosdidier de Matons (“Thèmes”, 288 n. 36) and Vivian (“Witness”, 12 with n. 50), it is probably a public bath. The meaning of the word δημόσιον is just a “public building”, but it can also refer to a “public bath”; see LSJ (*Supplement*), s.v. δημόσιος III.2.e and Lampe, s.v. δημόσιος 2.a. John Malalas (born ca. 490) in his chronicle mentions buildings founded by Alexander the Great in Alexandria. Among them is a δημόσιον called ὁ Ἴππος; see *Chronographia* 8.1, ed. Dindorf, p. 192, lines 7–8: ἔκτισε δὲ ... δημόσιον, ὃ καλεῖται ὁ Ἴππος (“He founded ... a public bath called the Hippos”). Further, in the Greek Anthology (*Anthologia Palatina* 9.628), among several epigrams in book 9 dedicated to baths, there is an epigram according to a lemma entitled: εἰς τὸ δημόσιον λουτρὸν τὸ καλούμενον Ἴππον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ (“To the public bath at Alexandria called the Hippos”). The epigram, possibly from the sixth century, is attributed to Johannes Grammaticus (or Barbucalos) and alludes to the fact that the emperor restored the bath. Cf. Calderini, *Dizionario*, I:1, 96, s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια (Βαλανεῖα, θερμαί, λουτρά). Also the mention of καμψαρικόν in line 10 above supports this interpretation, and makes it probable that Mark worked (ἔκαμνεν in line 15) there as a baths attendant.

In the East bathing continued in Late Antiquity and Byzantine times to be socially accepted also among Christians, especially for reasons of medicine and charity; cf. Commentary on 7:18–19. But the great baths were associated with immorality and luxuriousness, and early on a strong monastic antipathy to bathing developed. Two stories, which involve respectively a monk and a nun who visited baths with horrifying consequences, mention an Abba Daniel. For these stories (*BHG* 2102c and *BHG* 2102d), see Introduction, Chapter I, parts 2.4 and 2.5. For a survey of episodes mentioning baths in Byzantine Saints’ Lives (including this story), see Magoulas, “Bathhouse”, 233–238.

15–16 κατέλυεν ἑκατὸν νούμια τῆς ἡμέρας: the *noummion* (usually spelled νούμμιον for the Lat. *nummus*) was a small copper coin. The currency in the Roman empire was reformed by Emperor Anastasius I (491–518). There were three denominations of gold coins: the *solidus* (νόμισμα in Greek), the *semissis* (σιμίσιον in Greek), and the *tremissis* (τριμίσιον in Greek), and four denominations of copper coins: the *follis* (φόλλις), which was 40 *noummia*, and its subdivisions of 20, 10, and 5 *noummia*. In Alexandria this currency was introduced under Justin I (518–527), but with some differences: the

denominations were 12, 6, and 3 *noummia*. In literature copper coins are often known as νούμμια, φόλλεις, φολλερά, ὀβολοί, and λεπτά with no clear distinction. In the MS Par. Coisl. 283 φόλλεις and νούμμια seem to appear as equivalents: the MS has ἑκατὸν φόλλεις τῆς ἡμέρας· ... ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν νουμίων ἡγόραζεν ... νουμίων. The relationship of the copper coinage to the gold varied considerably, and it is difficult to estimate the worth of the sum of money earned by Mark, but it is obvious that it was a high wage. The number 100 may be chosen symbolically to stress the high wage. Cf. Eulogios the Stone-Cutter (no. 6), whose daily earnings were one *keration* (Lat. *siliqua*), which was 1/24 of the gold νόμισμα (Lat. *solidus*). On the currency, see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1, 438–448, and Metcalf, “Coinage in Egypt”, 2, 573–575.

17 δώδεκα: the MSS P and Par. Coisl. 283 have δέκα (“ten”). The omission (by mistake) of δώ- by a copyist is more likely than the addition of it. Also, in the Alexandrian coinage system in the sixth century there was a denomination of 12 *noummia*, while in the general Byzantine currency in the rest of the empire there was a denomination of 10 *noummia*; see Commentary on lines 15–16, above. Something that would speak in favour of the reading δέκα is that it is a symbolic number denoting “tithes”. Instead of paying his tithes to the needy, Mark keeps it for himself, giving away the majority of his earnings.

24 τὸ Τετράπυλον τὸ μέγα: the Great Tetrapylon seems to have been a four-sided arch in the Agora. About this John Moschos says in *PratSpir* 77: ἔστιν δὲ ὁ τόπος τοῦ Τετραπύλου πάνυ σεβάσμιος παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι· λέγουσι γὰρ, ὅτι τὰ λείψανα Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου λαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ κτίστης τῆς πόλεως, ἐκεῖ αὐτὰ κατέθετο (“This place of the Tetrapylon is held in very high esteem by the citizens of Alexandria. They say that Alexander, who founded their city, took the remains of the Prophet Jeremiah from Egypt and buried them there”). Haas claims (*Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 368 n. 27) that “the Tetrapylon probably resembled the roughly contemporary tetrapylon in Thessaloniki (the so-called arch of Galerius), which was also centrally located in the city’s design”. See also Calderini, *Dizionario*, I:1, 154, s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια (Τετράπυλον).

27–30 καὶ πάντες ... εἰ μὴ τοῦτον: Grosdidier de Matons (“Thèmes”, 289) notices the resemblance that the dialogue between the people and Daniel bears with the dialogue in *HL* 34:6. In *HL* 34 Abba Piteroum visits a women’s monastery of Tabennesiotes, where a woman is feigning madness. He begs her

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for a blessing. The other women say to him: ἀββᾶ, μὴ πάσχε ὕβριν· σαλή ἐστι (“Abba, do not take offence! She is a fool”). Piteroum answers: ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σαλαί· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν ἀμμᾶς ἐστίν (“It is you who are the fools, for that woman is my amma,<sup>1</sup> and yours”). Grosdidier de Matons thinks that the dialogue in the Daniel text is somewhat out of place and probably modelled from the one in *HL*. The women’s exclamation is more credible, since they have reason to fear that the great abba Piteroum would feel unwelcomed. Daniel faces a different situation. He attacks the *salos*, who has not provoked him and who seems to be of some popularity in the city. Not knowing Daniel, the people seem to take part against him rather than excusing themselves for the behaviour of the *salos*, which is indicated by the disciple’s cautious standing in the background. According to Grosdidier de Matons, this is also supported by the fact that the dialogue is only interrupted by the arriving clergy, who know Daniel.

29 ὑμεῖς ἐστε σαλοί: this type of statement revealing the reversal of roles or status is also found in other texts on secret saints. Cf. 4A:38–39 (with a parallel in 4B:43–44), where Daniel says to the grumbling fathers: αὕτη ἀμμᾶς ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστίν (“That woman is my amma, and yours”). Cf. also *HL* 34:6 (see Commentary on lines 27–30, above), and *HL* 17:8, where Makarios reproaches his disciples for taking offense at a man, who has brought a mare, believing she is his wife, to him: ἵπποι ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, οἱ τῶν ἵππων ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (“It is you who are the horses, for you have the eyes of horses”).

29–30 σήμερον ... εἰ μὴ τοῦτον: the motif of not finding one *man*, or only a few *men* in a crowd, i.e. ἄνθρωπος in opposition to ὄχλος, is also found in some anecdotes about the Cynic philosopher Diogenes (see Diogenes Laertios, *Lives of the Philosophers* 6.40, 41, 60), and in an anecdote about Aesop in the *Life of Aesop* (Vita G) 66; see Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 44–46, 307, n. 44.

35 σκεῦος: the use of the word σκεῦος referring to “a human being exercising a function” is found in biblical literature; see BDAG, s.v. 3. Cf. e.g. the description of Paul as “a chosen vessel” in Acts 9:15.

42–43 τὸ Πέμπτον: lit. the Fifth (milestone from Alexandria). On the road to the west of Alexandria were situated conglomerations of monasteries at places

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<sup>1</sup> On the term ἀμμᾶς, see Commentary on 4A:38–39 / 4B:43–44.

named after the milestones.<sup>2</sup> Except Pempton there were e.g. Enaton (the Ninth) and Oktokaidekaton (the Eighteenth). Further on Pempton, see Gasco, “Pempton”, 6, 1931. On Enaton and for references to the monastic movement around Alexandria, see Commentary on line 59. On Oktokaidekaton, see Commentary on 4A:4 / 4B:4. Cf. also 8:68.

45 ἵνα λυτρωθῇς τῆς ἁμαρτίας σου: the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283 have ἄλλα ὀκτὼ ἔτη (“for another eight years”).

54 τῷ στρατηλάτῃ: the *magister militum* (in Greek στρατηλάτης or στρατηγός) originally was the commander-in-chief of the armies in the late Roman Empire. In the East the power of the *stratêlatês* weakened, and in the 6th–7th centuries this term had become very vague and could designate the head of a military office (the *magisterium militum*), but also (as is shown from papyri of Egypt) an honorary title for any kind of military officers or for functions in the civil administration such as the praetorian prefect, the duke of a province, the tribune of a city or for any distinct member of a great family. The head of the civil administration in Alexandria was the *praefectus Augustalis*, who normally co-operated with the *dux Aegypti*, the principal military officer in charge of the military administration of Alexandria; see Durliat, “Magister militum”, 306–320, *ODB*, 2, 1266–1267, s.v. “magister militum”, and Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 69–72.

55 τὴν Σκήτιν: according to the Coptic version published by Guidi (*ROC* 5, 538, Ital. tr.: 554 / 84, Ital. tr.: 101) he was sent to Enaton.

56 κρούσατε κροῦσμα: to summon the community to church in monasteries a signal is usually given by striking a bar of metal or wood (τὸ σήμαντρον). Cf. 5:49. The verbs (κρούσατε, συνάξατε, and εἶπατε) in this exhortation are in the plural. This is what the disciple is expected to say to the monks in Sketis. Possibly the reading λέγων should be λέγοντα.

57 εὐλογηθῆτε ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος: cf. 3:34, where the fathers also receive a blessing from a deceased holy man. The meaning might be that they received a

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<sup>2</sup> The tradition of naming places in accordance with the milestone is known from other parts of the empire; for example outside Constantinople there were places called Dekaton, Enaton, and Pempton. See Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 445, 449, and 452.

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blessing in the form of a relic of the saint. On such *eulogiai*, see Commentary on 4A:53 / 4B:63.

58 ἀσπροφοροῦντες: see Commentary on 7:168–170.

58–59 μετὰ κλάδων καὶ βαΐων: cf. 7:170.

59 τὸ Ἐνατον: Enaton (also spelled Ἐννατον, lit. the Ninth (milestone from Alexandria)) was a conglomeration of monasteries established early in the fourth century. In the sixth century it had become a very great and famous monastic centre and also one of the most influential centres of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in Egypt; see Gascou, “Enaton, the”, 3, 954–958. On Enaton and the monastic movement around Alexandria, see Van Cauwenbergh, *Les moines d'Égypte*, 64–78, and Wipszycka, “Monachisme égyptien”, *passim*. Cf. also Commentary on lines 42–43.

59 τὰ Κελλία: Kellia (lit. the Cells), at about 18 km (11 miles) south of Nitria, was a site of many monastic settlements established in the fourth century by Amoun (see Commentary on line 59–60 below). The French and Swiss archaeological excavations indicate that Kellia was one of the largest monastic sites in Egypt, not so strongly anchoretic as has been believed, primarily based on the literary testimonies, but similar to the *lavras* (see Commentary on line 60 below) in Sketis; see Guillaumont et al., “Kellia”, 5, 1396–1410, and Rassart, “Kellia”, 1173–1176.

59–60 τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας: the word ὄρος designated in Egypt both “mountain” and “desert”. In the sense of “desert” it denoted both the further desert (paradoxically often called the inner desert) and the nearer desert (often called the exterior desert), i.e. the desert escarpment ending the desert along the Nile, but also the cultivated land in the Nile valley, where many monasteries were located. From these usages derived the religious meaning “a site inhabited by monks”, i.e. “a monastery”, or, as is the case here, “a region of monasteries”; see Cadell & Rémondon, “Sens de τὸ ὄρος”, 343–349.

Nitria, at 64 km (40 miles) south of Alexandria and west of the Nile Delta, was established about 325–330 by Amoun. It soon became the site of many monastic settlements with numerous monks. According to a saying in the *AP* (*AP/G* Anthony 34) this was the cause of the foundation of Kellia by Amoun and Anthony the Great about twelve years later. Many monks, who wished to



live in a remoter desert, moved from Nitria to Kellia, with the result that Nitria became known as a centre for novices. The population of Nitria decreased in the fifth century, and in the seventh century the site seems to have been abandoned; see Guillaumont, “Nitria”, 5, 1794–1797, and Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, *passim*.

60 αἱ λαῦραι αἱ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: a *lavra* (lit. “street” or “alley”) was a type of monastery, where the monks lived in scattered cells with a central church and other common buildings. It was a colony of anchorites, who were assembled on weekends and were subject to a *hegumenos*; thus, this way of life may be called semi-anchoritic. Most of the monastic settlements in Lower Egypt (e.g. in Sketis), where the Antonian system of monasticism dominated, were of this type; see *ODB*, 2, 1190, s.v. “Lavra”.

The first Christians of Alexandria (as well as the Christians of many other great cities) held their assemblies at the suburban cemeteries, where monasteries were established early on; see Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 261.

63 μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων: candles and incense as well as psalm-singing were parts of funeral processions. The priests may have carried the candles, the deacons the incense in censers in front of the bier; cf. *VAndrSal*, 1501, with the note by Rydén *ad loc*. The MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283 have μετὰ κλάδων καὶ κηρῶν (“with branches and candles”).

63–64 τὴν μέσσην: (sc. ὁδόν) this would be Via Canopica, the great colonnaded boulevard which ran from the Gate of the Sun in the east to the Gate of the Moon and the Necropolis in the west. Processions and ceremonies along this main east-west street were frequent. Diodoros of Sicily describes Alexandria and the street in his *Library of History* 17.52.3: τὸν δὲ τύπον ἀποτελῶν χλαμύδι παραπλήσιον ἔχει πλατεῖαν μέσσην σχεδὸν τὴν πόλιν τέμνουσαν καὶ τῷ τε μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει θαυμαστήν (“The city, which almost resembles a military cloak in shape, has a central boulevard which almost divides the city and is admirable for its size and beauty”). For Via Canopica and its social function, see Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 29–32 and 81–90. For μέσος in the sense of “midmost” or “central” of three or more objects, see LSJ, s.v. Ia.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the name of the main street in Constantinople: ἡ Μέση; so in e.g. *VAndrSal*

<sup>3</sup> An example given by LSJ is Theognis, 220: Κύρνε, μέσσην δ’ ἔρχεαι τὴν ὁδόν, ὥσπερ ἐγώ (“Kyrnos, take the main road, as I do”).



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4262–4263: οἱ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας σαλοὶ ἐπὶ μέσεως θεωροῦντες αὐτόν (tr. by Rydén: “when the real fools see him in the main street”). The MS Par. Coisl. 283 has τὴν πόλιν (“the city”).

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3 γυμνόν: i.e. scantily dressed. It is evident from line 16 that he wears some kind of garment. Cf. line 10 and 2:10.

4 τὴν πλατεῖαν: this might be the central boulevard called Via Canopica; see Commentary on 2:63–64.

8 ποιήσον εἰς ἐμὲ ἀγάπην: for this expression meaning “do me a favour”, or simply “please”, see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 3–5. For other senses of ἀγάπη, see Commentary on 8:42 and 8:54. Cf. also line 37, where ἀγάπη means “charity”.

9 βαῖα τοῦ καμεῖν καὶ τραφῆναι: the making of baskets and ropes was a common monastic job; see Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 99–101.

13 τὸν ἅγιον Μάρκον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως: this is probably the Church of Saint Mark, known as the Church of Baucalis. It was a parish church built near the Martyrium of Saint Mark the Evangelist, who, according to the legend, was executed and buried in a region called Boukolou (Boucalia; “cattleshed”) outside the East Gate of Alexandria close to the shore; see Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 213 and 271, and Meinardus, *Coptic Christianity*, 144.

16 καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ: the MS Par. Coisl. 283 has καὶ τρία κεράτια κέρματος καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ (“and three *keratia*<sup>1</sup> in change, and he took out of his mouth”). The fold of the garment, used as a pocket, as well as the mouth, was a common place to keep small coins.

16 τριμήσιον (also spelled τριμίς(σ)ι(ο)ν from the Lat. *tremissis*) was a small gold coin worth one third of the νόμισμα (Lat. *solidus*), which was a gold piece (weighing 4.55 grams). On the currency, see Commentary on 2:15–16.

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<sup>1</sup> On *keration*, see Commentary on 2:15–16.

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18–19 πόσους κρυπτοὺς δούλους ἔχει ὁ Θεός: cf. the almost identical phrase in 5:106–107. For a discussion on saints called “secret servants of God”, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 1.

19 ζῆ Κύριος: for this biblical phrase, see BDAG, s.v. [ζάω] 1.a.ε.

19 τῆς εὐλογίας: on the many meanings of the word *eulogia*, see Commentary on 4A:53 / 4B:62–63.

22–28 ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος ... διεφορήθη ὁ πόνος: as noticed by Vivian (“Witness”, 34, n. 133), a similar story about the healing of a person’s liver is found in Paphnutios, *Life of Onouphrios* 8. See the English translation from the Coptic in Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 150.

22 ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος: the *oikonomos* (“steward”) was a high official chosen among the clergy at a church or a monastery in order to take care of the financial administration. He was ranked second to the bishop (or patriarch) and was the head of an office of subordinate clerical officials working on e.g. the distribution of alms to the poor and the sick. Later on the epithet μέγας was attached to the title. Theophanes Confessor (*Chronographia*, 242.15) mentions a μέγας οἰκονόμος named Eustochios in Alexandria during the reign of Emperor Justin II (565–578). See Beck, *Kirche*, 106–107, Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, 224–225, and ODB, 3, 1517, s.v. “oikonomos”.

30 ὁ πάπας: see Commentary on 2:8.

34 εὐλογηθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ: see Commentary on 2:57.

36–37 τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μάρκου τοῦ διὰ Θεὸν σαλοῦ: see story no. 2.

39 τοῖς ξενῶσι: the institution called ξενών, as well as the ξενοδοχεῖον, was a hostel which provided food and lodging for free to travelling strangers, preferably pilgrims and monks. Gradually they became combinations of hostels and sick bays, and in the sixth century they are often referred to as “hospitals”; see Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 35–37. For the mass of literature on this subject, see idem, *op. cit.*, 36, n. 88.

## 4AB. A Holy and Chaste Young Woman

For dividing readings in the two redactions, see the comparison table in the Introduction, Chapter III, part 1.6.

**4A:4–32 / 4B:4–34** ἀββᾶς τις ... ἐκόλασεν αὐτόν: a similar story is given by John Moschos in *PratSpir* 75, where a husband is leaving his wife and daughter to sail to Constantinople. The servant of the family becomes possessed by the devil and wants to murder his mistress and her child, but he is afflicted with blindness and unable to find the way to the room where they are. Failing to persuade them to come to him, he inflicts a mortal blow on himself.

**4A:4 / 4B:4** τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Ἀλεξανδρείας: lit. the Eighteenth (milestone) from Alexandria. Oktokaidekaton was one of the conglomerations of monasteries on the coastal, western road from Alexandria. In the sixth century it seems to have been one of the centres of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in Egypt as well as the monastery in Enaton; see Gascou, “Oktokaidekaton”, 6, 1826–1827. For Enaton, see Commentary on 2:59.

**4A:10–11 / 4B:10–11** ὥς πατρός: this can also be translated by “since he was her father-in-law”.

**4A:12** τάχιον / **4B:12** ἐννύχιον: the reading τάχιον is somewhat strange. Perhaps ἐννύχιον, which is the reading of the MS Par. Coisl. 282, is original.

**4A:15 / 4B:15** ὑπαγε κατασφράγισαι: see Commentary on 1:35.

**4A:17 / 4B:17** καὶ πολλὰ πυκτεύσας ... κόρη: the participle πυκτεύσας is not integrated into the main clause. The sentence contains a deviation from the rules of concord. There is most probably a change of subjects here, and the reading should be πυκτεύσαντος, which is the reading of the MS Par. Coisl. 282. The possibility that the reading would be πυκτεύσασα is less plausible, since the woman would probably not have struck the man with her fists. In monastic literature the verb πυκτεύω is often used metaphorically of the spiritual fight.

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**4A:20 / 4B:20** ἐὰν δεῖ: in classical Greek the conjunction ἐάν appears with the subjunctive, but in post-classical Greek it is often followed by an indicative; see Jannaris, § 1987 ff. Cf. 6:153.

**4A:21** σε ἀκούσω: in classical Greek the verb ἀκούω governs the genitive as in lines 19–20, above. In Byzantine times the accusative gradually took the place of the genitive; see Jannaris, § 1326.

**4A:22** ἐδιχοτόμησεν / **4B:24** διχοτομεῖ: the meaning of the verb διχοτομέω is “cut in twain”, but he probably did not cut her body in two. This may be an hyperbolic expression simply meaning that he plunged the sword into her and ripped her up.

**4B:24** ψυῶν: M has ὤμων “shoulders”, which would mean that he decapitated her. However, ψυῶν is a lectio difficilior. The error may have risen in the same way as in 2:11; see Commentary *ad loc.* V has ψῶων, which may be an isochronistic spelling of ψοῶν.

**4B:28** βαλόντες αὐτῷ φωνήν: for this expression, see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 56.

**4A:32 / 4B:33–34** ἐκόλασεν αὐτόν: i.e. he executed him. Cf. Commentary on 4A:39–40, below.

**4A:36–37** ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου: see Commentary on 3:19.

**4A:37–38** οὐ μὴ ταφῇ ... ἐγόγγυζον / **4B:40–43** οὐ γὰρ θάπτεται ... φονευθείσης: cf. the story in *PratSpir* 88, where a dead woman is buried on top of a previously buried abba. The earth threw her up and the same happened to another woman, who was then buried on top of him. The monks understood that the abba would not accept to lie beneath a woman, and buried him with the martyrs.

**4A:38–39** αὕτη ἀμμᾶς ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστίν / **4B:43–44** αὕτη ἡ κόρη ἀμμᾶς μου κ.τ.λ.: see Commentary on 2:30. The ἀμμᾶς (“amma” from the Aram. “mother”) is the female counterpart of the ἀββᾶς (“abba” from the Aram. “father”), a title, as well as the term γέρων (“elder”), applied to a monk regarded as a spiritual father because of his charisma and authority. Later on the words came to be applied to every monk and nun.

**4A:39–40** ὁ δὲ συμμαχὸς ἡμῶν περὶ ὀδύνης ἐκοιμήθη: the fellow monk most probably refers to the young woman's father-in-law, who was an abba (line 4), and who was executed for the crime he had committed; cf. **4A:32 / 4B:33–34**. There are, however, some problems with this interpretation. Why is an abba, who is here called “a fellow monk”, living with his son and daughter-in-law? Also the expression περὶ ὀδύνης ἐκοιμήθη is strange—the word κοιμάομαι because it seems to be an odd euphemism for someone being executed, and the word ὀδύνη (“pain” or “grief”), since it does normally not imply any moral criticism, as one would have expected here in contrast to the σωφροσύνη of the young woman.

Daniel challenges and transgresses the moral boundaries. For further discussion, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 5.

**4A:43–57** Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν ... ἀμήν / **4B:48–67** ἐν μιᾷ οὖν ... ὑπὲρ τῆς σωφροσύνης: Clugnet treats this part of the story as a completely new story and gives it (*ROC* 5, 66–67 / 21) as no. 6, entitled *Le moine tenté*. But he also says (*ROC* 6, 72 / xvii) that in all MSS this story is given immediately after the story of the holy and chaste young woman. Bonnet (“Review”, 170) points out that this is actually a single story, not only when considering the textual transmission, but also logically, considering the contents. The first part shows the virtue of the woman during her life and the second how her virtue works after her death. In all the MSS I have studied this part of the text is directly connected with the previous part, and it is never given a title of its own, although some of the MSS let the first word of the text begin with a capital letter (Ἐν). In this part of the story the name of the woman, Thomaïs, is revealed.

**A:43–44** ἐπολεμήθη εἰς πορνείαν / **4B:48–49** ἐπολεμήθη ... ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας: cf. **3:41–42**.

**4A:45–46** ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιμητηρίου τῶν πατέρων / **4B:51–52** ἐπάνω κ.τ.λ.: For κοιμητήριον (“cemetery”) in the sense of “tomb”, see Lampe, s.v. 2.

**4A:51 / 4B:61** ἐποίησα δώδεκα μετανοίας: the meaning of the word μετάνοια is “change of mind”, and hence “repentance”. To make *metanoia* is most often to do the physical act of prostration before God or the person, against whom one has committed a sin, in order to do penance. The metanoia is made

by kneeling and touching the ground with the forehead, or by making a low bow. Cf. 6:31–32.

4A:53 / 4B:64 τὴν εὐλογίαν: the word *eulogia* can have many meanings. Besides a spoken blessing (or benediction) it refers to the eucharistic species, a gift of blessed bread or any gift of alms, or anything which supplied a blessing, e.g. a token collected from a holy place or a relic of a holy man. These objects were believed to hold supernatural powers. Small ampullae containing oil from lamps or other objects (e.g. water or dust) collected from the pilgrimage sites were called *eulogiai*. Many such ampullae have been found in Egypt, especially in connection with the cult of Saint Menas. They often have depictions of the saint and inscriptions, where the long standard formula seems to have been something like εὐλογία λαβομένη<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ (“*Eulogia* received from Saint Menas”). On *eulogia*, see Leclercq, “Eulogie”, 733–734, and the examples given by Lampe, s.v. For *eulogia* as tokens, see Leclercq, “Ampoules à eulogies”, 1722–1747, Vikan, “Byzantine Pilgrims’ Art”, 229–266, and Hahn, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs”, 85–96.

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<sup>1</sup> The preserved ampullae have ΛΑΒΟΜΕ[ν]. However, most of the other preserved ampullae have shorter formulae, e.g. ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ; see Leclercq, “Ampoules à eulogies”, 1724–1747, especially 1724 and 1726.

## 5. The Woman Who Pretended to Be a Drunkard

3 Θηβαΐδι τῇ ἀνωτέρῳ: the Upper Thebaid constituted the southern province of the Roman administrative province of the Thebaid, and its capital was Thebes (modern Luxor) in Upper Egypt.

3 εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλῶ: the life of Apollo is described in *HM* 8. He was born about 305 and withdrew to the desert at the age of fifteen. When he was eighty years old he founded a great monastery, whose ruins have been discovered and excavated at Bawit, about 24 km (15 miles) south of Hermopolis Magna (see Commentary on line 22). However, this is in the Lower Thebaid, not in the Upper. His feast day is celebrated on the fourth of November (Paope (Baba) 25 according to the calendar of the Coptic Church). Van Cauwenbergh (*Les moines d'Égypte*, 17 with n. 3) translates μνήμην by “tombeau (ou sanctuaire)”. On Apollo and the monastery, see Coquin, “Apollon”, 435–446, Gascou, “Documents grecs”, 219–230, and Vivian, “The *Life of Phib*”, 547–571.

4 ἐξῆλθον ὅλοι οἱ πατέρες εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ: the reception afforded to Daniel is that of a highly respected holy man. Many examples in monastic literature attest the custom of receiving a holy man with great honour; cf. e.g. Gregory of Nyssa's description of a similar reception in his *VMacrinae* 16: τό τε σύνταγμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅπαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος πρὸς ἡμᾶς προεχέθη· σύνηθες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τιμᾶν τῇ ὑπαντήσει τοὺς καταθυμίους (“the whole community of men came out of the monastery to meet me; for it is their custom to honour those whom they are pleased to receive by going out to meet them”). For further examples, see note 3 *ad loc.* in the edition by Marvel. The reception of Daniel is extremely honourable, which shows his reputation as an outstanding holy man. Cf. lines 37–40, where he likewise gets an extremely honourable reception.

6 ἐν τάξει is used as a pleonastical reinforcement to ὥς. For the expression, see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 34. Further on similar expressions, see Zilliacus, *Abundanz*, 34–36.



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15–17 εἰ θέλετε ... κρέματα: the monastic teaching of the desert fathers was focussed to a great extent on virtues. Many of the fathers had their own list of virtues, which varied in choice and number. Lists of two or three (or, in some cases, ten to twelve) virtues were common. Poverty and silence were important virtues often included in these lists; see Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 217.

18 μεθερμήνευσεν αὐτὰ αἰγυπτιστί: i.e. Coptic. Clugnet (*ROC* 6, 59 / iv) thinks that this indicates that Daniel was Greek by birth and hence spoke Greek. Evelyn White (*Monasteries*, 241), opposing Clugnet, rightly emphasizes that “Daniel, as a monk in Scetis from childhood and Hegumen of the Desert, must certainly have known Coptic”. (Clugnet, however, never claims that the translation was made because Daniel did not know Coptic.) Evelyn White (*Monasteries*, 242) believes that the translation was made from Bohairic into Sahidic Coptic. This is not very likely. Greek was the main language used for written communication. However, Coptic slowly emerged as a written language. The origin of Coptic literature is still obscure, but probably the use of transcriptions (in Greek letters) of *ad hoc* translations (for example at church lessons) from Greek into the various Coptic dialects played an important role; see Rubenson, *Letters of St. Antony*, 95–99, and Roberts, *Manuscript*, 64–67.

20–21 ποίησον ἀγάπην: for this expression, see Commentary on 3:8.

22 Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν: Hermopolis Magna (modern el-Ashmunein) was situated on the west bank of the Nile in the Lower Thebaid between Oxyrhynchus and Lycopolis (modern Asyut or Siout).

24 μοναστήριον ... Ἰερεμίου: we know of a monastery (for men) of Abba Jeremias of Saqqara (in Lower Egypt) founded at the end of the fifth century. It was excavated 1908–1910; see Walters, *Monastic Archaeology*, 244. From a Coptic papyrus we also know of a monastery (for men) south of Antinoë dedicated to Abba Jeremias. It was opposite to Hermopolis, on the east side of the Nile; see Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 132.

In the Syriac version published by Nau (*ROC* 5, 391 / 68), there is no mention of Hermopolis. According to Nau’s translation (*ROC* 5, 392, n. 3 / 69, n. 3), the women’s monastery is called “des Tabennésiotés”. (English translation in Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 143: “The blessed Abba Daniel once left Skete with his disciple to go to a monastery of sisters that was in the inner

desert, called Tabennesi.”) The deserted village of Tabennese (in Greek Ταβέννησις from the Coptic; lit. sanctuary of Isis) situated in the Thebaid in Upper Egypt, was the site for Pachomios’ (ca. 292–346) first monastic community. Soon a system of cenobitic monasteries (a *koinonia*) was spread, where the monks—called Tabennesiotes—lived in an organized way, following a common rule. There were two female communities. The rule soon came to be followed by other cenobitic communities not belonging to the Pachomian *koinonia*, which is why any such monastery could be called “Tabennesiote”; see Goehring, *Ascetics*, 27 and 258. The monastery mentioned in the Syriac version would thus refer to one of Pachomios’ monasteries or another monastery following the Pachomian rule, but, as claimed by Wipszycka (“Monachisme égyptien”, 321), if this monastery had connections to the monastery of Abba Jeremias at Saqqara, it would probably not have followed the Pachomian rule. Wipszycka believes that the redactor of the Syriac version may have had little knowledge of the region of the Thebaid and thought that every monastery there was Pachomian. The same reasoning may be applied to 7:114–116, where Daniel orders Andronikos to take his wife Athanasia to “the Thebaid, to the Monastery of the Tabennesiotes”; see Commentary on 7:115–116. Cf. also the story of the woman who feigned madness in *HL* 34, which refers to a women’s monastery of Tabennesiotes; see Commentary on line 55, below.

25 ὡς τριακόσιαι: in hagiographical literature three hundred is a standard number of members of a cenobitic community in Egypt; cf. e.g. the women’s monastery in *HL* 29. See Wipszycka, “Monachisme égyptien”, 321.

27–28 τὴν ἀμμᾶν τὴν ἀρχιμανδρίτην: in the dictionaries, the term ἀρχιμανδρίτη used of the head of a women’s monastery is only found in Lampe, who refers to this occurrence. The exact meaning of the title ἀρχιμανδρίτης (“chief of the sheepfold”) in Egypt is unclear. According to Chitty (*The Desert a City*, 25 with n. 68), it is likely to have been introduced from Syria, since the Syrian monasteries were often called μάνδραι (“sheepfolds”). Archimandrite was a high-ranking title often afforded to superiors of groups of monasteries (such as the Pachomian congregation) or of single famous monasteries. The superior of the monastery of Abba Jeremias of Saqqara held this title. It was also a honorific title, and is thus, in some literary texts, used by a person who addresses the superior, although other terms are used when the narrative is in the third person; see Wipszycka, “Archimandrite”, 1, 192–194.

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Below, the head of the monastery is called either only ἀμμᾶς or ἡγουμένη. There seems to be some confusion on to whom the different terms refer in some redactions. The sentence on line 31 καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ ἡγουμένη λέγει αὐτῷ is in the MS Par. Coisl. 283 καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ ἡγουμένη λεπτῇ φωνῇ λέγει τῷ ἀδελφῷ· ἡ ἀμμᾶς ἔπεμψέν με λέγουσα (“The *hegumene* came and said to the brother in a faint voice: The amma sent me to ask”). This addition obviously means that there is also a deputy head of the monastery called *hegumene*, but later on it is evident that the terms are not being used consistently. Furthermore, in the same MS, the term ἡ κυρία ἡ μεγάλη (“the great lady”) is used for ἡ ἀμμᾶς on lines 41–42. On line 64, below, the term δευτεραρία is used for the deputy head of the monastery; see Commentary *ad loc.* For the term “amma”, see Commentary on 4A:38–39 / 4B:43–44. For the male title *hegumenos*, see Commentary on 2:7.

34–35 συμφέρει ... ὑπὸ τῶν ἔσω: the wild beasts inside the monastery allude to the sisters and the fear of sexual temptation.

45–46 ἐξέχυνεν ... εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν: the water is used as an *eulogia* for the sisters and for the *hegumene* herself. However, the water thrown on the drunkard in lines 58–59 seems merely to have the function of waking her up. Cf. the Coptic story of the converted robber, where a blind woman is healed by the water that has been used to wash the feet of a thief she believes to be Abba Daniel; see Commentary on line 55, below. On *eulogia*, see Commentary on 4A:53 / 4B:62–63.

47 ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν ... ἀλάλους: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτὰς δίκην λίθων ἀλάλων (“One could see them being in the manner of silent stones”).

47–48 διὰ κρούσματος ... ἐγίνετο: i.e. not by words. See Commentary on 2:56. The MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283 add αὕτη<sup>1</sup> ἡ κίνησις αὐτῶν ἀγγελικὴ (“Their movement was like that of angels”).

52 ὅτι ὡς Γότθος μοι ἐπέρχεται: the meaning of this phrase is not entirely clear. Possibly the devil is implied as the subject of phrase. The cryptic message to the disciple might be that the devil is very active in his temptation to pride.

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<sup>1</sup> The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has καὶ αὕτη δέ. The reading αὕτη should be αὐτή.

Another possibility is that it is a complimentary phrase; Daniel is so flattered by the sisters' honourable treatment of him that he claims that, compared to them, his own disciple is behaving like a barbarian. This is, however, less credible, since it is not very likely that Daniel's statement is ironical. For the word Γότθος ("Goth"), see *TGL*, s.v., and *DGE*, s.v.

53 τὸ μέσαυλον: cf. line 79, below, where the word μεσίαυλον is used for the same place. The MS Par. Coisl. 283 has μεσίαυλον in both the corresponding passages. Although the same word originally possibly occurred on both lines, we cannot know for sure. The words μέσαυλον, μεσίαυλον, μεσόαυλον (which occurs in the corresponding passage in the MS Par. Coisl. 282), and μεσαύλιον can all have the same meaning: "forecourt (of a church)" or "courtyard"; see *LSJ (Supplement)*, s.vv. μέσαυλος III, μεσαύλιον (A), *TGL*, s.v. μέσαυλον, *Lampe*, s.v. μεσαύλιον, and *Sophocles*, s.v. μεσόαυλον.

55 μεθύστριά: according to the Syriac version published by Nau (*ROC* 5, 392 / 69) the woman is mad, not drunk. Grosdidier de Matons, ("Thèmes", 288) observes that the fact that she is a simulating drunkard constitutes a problem of credibility: where and how would she have managed to get all the wine needed, and how would she have managed to dupe the entire community for so long? But, as claimed by van Cauwenbergh (*Les moines d'Égypte*, 18), the Syriac designation of her as "mad" might be the original reading. My suggestion is that the designation of her as drunk may have risen from lines 59–60: ἀνέστη ὡς ἀπὸ μέθης. The Syriac version (tr. Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 145) has "as though from a drunken sleep".

This (second) part of the story bears many resemblances with the story of the woman who feigned madness in *HL* 34. For further discussion of the similarities and differences between these stories, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 2.

The Coptic *Life of Abba Daniel* published by Guidi does not contain this story but a very similar one, the story of the converted robber (*ROC* 5, 545–547, Ital. tr.: 559–561 / 92–95, Ital. tr.: 106–108). In this story a leader of a band of thieves wants to rob a women's monastery, for which no location is given. He disguises himself as Abba Daniel of Sketis, knocks on the door, and is received with great honour. The women wash his feet and receive blessings from the water. A blind woman is healed by the water, apparently because of her faith in God and in Abba Daniel. This miracle causes yet another kind of miracle: the thief is converted, goes to "the real" Abba Daniel in Sketis, and becomes a monk. The story is also found in the Ethiopic *Life of Abba Daniel* published by

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Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira, 51–53 (Portugese translation). In the two Greek versions (one shorter and one longer) of the story (*BHG* 1450kb: *De latrone converso*) the women's monastery is situated in one of the suburbs of Antioch. The thief disguises himself as a monk, but there is no mention of an abba Daniel, and it is a paralysed woman who is healed by the water. The Greek story seems to be modelled from the Coptic or a (Greek?) source similar to the Coptic version, which must have been modelled from the (Greek) story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard. Both redactions are published by Wortley, "*De latrone converso*", 219–243. An English translation with commentaries of the longer redaction is published in Wortley, *Tales of Paul*, 134–137, and 199–211.

56–57 ἐκβάλλαι ... φοβούμεθα τὸ κρίμα: the verb φοβούμεθα seems to govern both the infinitive-phrase (ἐκβάλλαι αὐτὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου) and the noun (τὸ κρίμα). For a similar example, cf. Oppian, *Halieutica* 3.514: ψαῦσαι μὲν τρομέει μητρὸς χόλον ("to touch it she is afraid of the anger of her mother").

57 ἐκβολίζει: the only other record of this word seems to be in a MS of Hesychios, where ἐκβολίζεται is obviously corrupt for ἐκβασιλίζεται; see LSJ, s.v. ἐκβασιλίζομαι. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ("Διορθωτικά", 437) suggests that ἐκβολίζει should be corrected to ἐμβολίζει = ἀμπολιάζει, meaning that the drunkard is transmitting the sin of drunkenness to the sisters. ἐμβολίζω is known in Byzantine Greek. According to *LBG*, s.v. ἐμβολίζω the sense is "propfen" ("graft") and ἐμβολίζομαι is "versinken, untergehen" ("sink, go down"). Modern Greek ἐμβολίζω is "to ram". However, here I think ἐμβολίζει is as uncertain as the MSS reading. The meaning could be "push away, offend".

63 ἵνα ... γεύσονται: for final clauses introduced by ἵνα with the indicative future tense, see BDR, § 369.2.

64 δευτεράρια: in the dictionaries, this term (which also occurs on line 90) is only found in Lampe, who refers to this occurrence. The male form δευτεράριος means "second (man) in command" or "prior (of monastery)"; see Lampe, s.v.

65 βαυκάλιον: for this word, see Nencioni, "Βαύκαλις", 98–104, and Leroy-Molinghen, "Du κώθων au βαυκάλιον", 208–220.

65 ff. βρεκτὰ καὶ ὠμὰ λάχανα κ.τ.λ.: pulse food was very important in the monastic diet. Wine mixed with water was permissible in the monasteries and also for the anchorites, although the Pachomian Rule prescribed it to be served only to sick and weak monks; see Dembinska, “Food consumption”, 440–442. Further on the diet of the desert fathers, see Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 61–81.

67 ff. ταῖς δὲ ἀδελφαῖς παρετέθησαν φαγία πολλά· κ.τ.λ.: Wortley (“*De latrone converso*”, 226) suggests that one may suspect that the women’s monasteries were merely ladies’ retreats rather than serious religious communities offering an ascetic life. This description of the sisters’ sumptuous meal reinforces that suspicion. Cf. the story of the three hundred quarrelling virgins in *HL* 29, where it is said of Elias of Atripe, the founder of the women’s monastery: ποιήσας αὐταῖς ἀνάπαυσιν πᾶσαν καὶ κήπους καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ ἄλλα ὧν ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ βίος (“he gave them every comfort, gardens, utensils, and everything their life required”).

74 ἀρχάριαι: in the dictionaries, this word is only found in *LBG*, who refers to this occurrence; see *LBG*, s.v. ἀρχαρία. Cf. Lampe, s.v. ἀρχαρίος 2 and 3.

78 ὅπου is here a relative pronoun; see Sophocles, s.v. 4, and Jannaris, § 608. Cf. also the examples collected by Kriaras, s.v. (I).B’.

80 τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν σωτηρίων: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν χρειῶν. Cf. line 86: τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. For similar expressions, see Rydén’s commentary on *VSymSal* 125.1f. in Rydén, *Bemerkungen*, 39–40.

84–86 ἐπέτασε τὰς χεῖρας ... ἐδάφους: praying in secret through the night is a virtue known to have been performed also by other secret saints; see Introduction, Chapter II, part 2 (with n. 34).

83 τοῦ σιφαρίου: in the dictionaries, this word is only found in Lampe, who refers to this occurrence; see Lampe, s.v. σιφάριον or σιφάριος.

85–86 τὰς μετανοίας ... ἐδάφους: the MS Par. Coisl. 283 has τὰς μετανοίας ἀναπέμπουσα καὶ καταπίπτουσα εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has ταῖς μετανοίαις τύπτουσα τὸ ἔδαφος. On the making of *metanoia*, see Commentary on 4A:51 / 4B:60–61.

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94–98 κλέπτει τὸ ῥαβδίον ... καὶ ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο: as in the case of the mad woman in *HL* 34, unable to bear the honours she flees the monastery to become a wandering ascetic. Perhaps she steals Daniel's staff and cowl to disguise herself as a monk, thus becoming a holy cross-dresser; see Introduction, Chapter II, part 2.

94–95 τὸ ῥαβδίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπιρριπτάριον: a staff of palm wood was a standard part of the monastic equipment; see Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 197. The ἐπιρριπτάρι(ο)ν was a (monastic) over-garment covering the shoulders; it could include a hood; see Du Cange, s.v. ἐπιρριπτάριον. Cf. *PratSpir* 92: καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς ὤμους αὐτοῦ ἐπιρριπτάριον ἀπὸ ψιαθίου (“and on his shoulders he wore a small cowl made of rushes”). For the clothing of the Desert fathers, see Evelyn White, *Monasteries*, 194–197, and Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 51–60.

105 εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτῶν: i.e. Daniel and his disciple went to their common cell.

106–107 τῷ Θεῷ ... κρυπτοὺς ... δούλους: cf. the similar phrase in 3:18–19. For a discussion on saints called “secret servants of God”, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 1.

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2–4 Γέγονε ... παρέβαλον: as is evident from the *apparatus criticus*, M and V have a different reading, which may be translated: “Again another time Abba Daniel had been in the Thebaid together with his disciple. They sailed down the river and went ashore ...”

2 κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα: the Coptic version published by Guidi (*ROC* 5, 538, tr. 555 / 86, tr. 102) has “in Egypt”. According to the Ethiopian version published by Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira (tr. p. 39), they went from the town of Keft (Coptic for the Greek Κόπτος), which was situated 40 km (25 miles) northeast of Luxor in Upper Egypt.

2 ὁ πρεσβύτερος: the original meaning of πρεσβύτερος (“older”, and from which the word “priest” is a derivation) is that of a venerable man, but early on it also became a technical term for the order of ministry below the bishop but superior to the deacon. Originally just an administrator and teacher under the bishop, by the fourth century the presbyter had become the person who normally celebrated the Eucharist; see *ODB*, 3, 1718, s.v. “Priest”, and Lampe, s.v. Cf. 2:7, where Daniel is called “*hegumenos* of Sketis”. See Commentary *ad loc.*

4 ἐν κτῆμα: the original meaning of the word κτῆμα is “piece of property” or “possession”. Later on the word was also used of large estates with tenant holdings on their territory. In the papyri of Egypt older than 280 A.D. the word generally denotes “a vineyard”, but by the 6th century it is evident that it refers to large farms, including fields and the buildings and workshops of the settlers; see Cadell, “Vocabulaire au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle”, 67, and Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 42. In this text the words κτῆμα (also on lines 122, 127, and 191) and χωρίον (on lines 9 and 190) seem to be equivalent meaning “village”.

9 ξένοι: for the phenomenon of wandering ascetics and the concept of *xeniteia*, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 1.



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9 τοῦ χωρίου: in Classical Greek the original meaning of χωρίον is “place”, but in papyri from the third century A.D. and onwards it designates “village” replacing the word κώμη. In the Novels of Justinian the word seems to designate a free commune. According to Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, 18, n. 1: “the word χωρίον in the Novels of Justinian designates less the village in the sense in which we take it, a group of close-set dwellings, than a fiscal unit made up of the whole of the lands whose cultivators ordinarily live in a single village.” But the terminology was unstable, and the words κώμη, ἐποίκιον, χωρίον or κτῆμα could be used for the same settlement (cf. Commentary on line 4); see Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 41–42.

10–11 ἄρα ἀρέσκει τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ὡς συνάδελφοι καθήμεθα ὧδε: for negative attitudes against wandering monks, see Commentary on line 123, below.

15 κοσμικός, μακρός, ὀλοπόλιος: parallels to this personal description can be found in papyri and official documents. Their purpose was identification, and they often included descriptions of the person’s age, height, hair, facial and other special features; see Hübsch, *Personalangaben*. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has πάνυ προβεβηκὼς ἡμερῶν, ἔχων καὶ κύρτην (“very advanced in years, also hunchbacked”). The meaning of the word κύρτη is “fish trap” or “bird-cage”; see LSJ, s.v. However, that meaning would be strange in a description of the man’s features. It is more likely that it means “hunchback” (possibly spelled κυρτή). The adjective κυρτός can have the meaning “hunchbacked”, see LSJ, s.v. 1. The word κυρτήν is recorded in a Greek-Latin glossary by Pseudo-Philoxenos, published in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 2, 33.51, where it is translated by “*gibbus*” (“hunch” or “hunched”).

18 κελεύσατε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ: the imperative of the verb κελεύω is here used as a complimentary expression (“please”). This usage is not uncommon in Byzantine Greek. The imperative ἔλθετε (“come”) is here implied. Another example, where ἐλθέ is implied, is *PratSpir* 127: κέλευσον, πάτερ, εἰς τὸν κανόνα (“Father, please come to the canonical service”). On this and for further examples, see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 6–7.

31–32 ἔβαλεν ὁ μαθητὴς μετάνοιαν: see Commentary on 4A:51 / 4B:60–61.

32 ποιήσον ἀγάπην: see Commentary on 3:8.

41–42 τὴν ἑνδεκάτην γὰρ ὥραν: i.e. at five in the afternoon. According to Cassian (*Conlat.* 2.26; 21.23) monks normally ate at the ninth hour, i.e. at about three in the afternoon.

46 εἰ μὴ ἔχεις πατέρα, παράθου: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has just οὐκοῦν παράθου (“Then provide for yourself”). There are two possible interpretations here, either literally “set food before yourself” or—more probably—spiritually “entrust yourself”.

48 ζῆ Κύριος: see Commentary on 3:19.

56 μηδενὶ δευτερώσης ἢ ἀκούεις: for the reason of the prohibition for the disciple to tell this story to anyone, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 4.

57 τῇ δὲ τέχνῃ λατόμος: there was a building boom in the sixth century. The emperor Justinian erected many monasteries, churches and other buildings. This led to a demand for workers in the building industry, of whom the masons and stone-cutters are those most frequently mentioned in hagiographic texts; see Magoulias, “Trades and Crafts”, 11–16.

58–59 ἐν κεράτιον νουμίων: the meaning is probably that he earned enough *noummia* to make a *keration*. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 omits νουμίων. On the currency, see Commentary on 2:16–17. Cf. also lines 65–66.

Eulogios’ life is somewhat similar to that of Vitalios as described in the *Life of St John the Merciful* (VloEl 38). The monk Vitalios comes to Alexandria and, finding day-to-day employments, earns one *keration* a day, of which he gives the most part to a harlot. He prays for her and forbids her to tell anyone about his deed (cf. line 56, above). His visits to the brothels cause criticism among the people except from John the Almsgiver, who is also the patriarch of Alexandria. Eventually Vitalios’s true identity is revealed to the people.

64 ἔστι δὲ σήμερον πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἑτῶν: from the context he appears to have been born around 465; see Commentary on lines 67 and 108, below. But most likely this is just a way of saying that he was very old. From documents of the fourth century we have evidence that even well-off people in Egypt did not know their own age exactly; see Bowman, *Egypt*, 138.

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65 δύναμιν: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 adds ἐπίσης νεωτέρῳ (“equal to a young man”).

67 ὥς πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα: as is evident from the context, the year, about forty years ago, would have been around 525, and thus the present year would be about 565; see Commentary on line 108, below. The MS Par. Coisl. 378 has ὥς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα (“about forty years old”), and the MS used by Clugnet (Par. Suppl. 241) has ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, which makes Evelyn White (*Monasteries*, 241) estimate that Daniel was born in 485. For the caution of regarding the stories as factual chronicles, see Introduction, Chapter I, part 5.

78–79 περὶ Εὐλογίου ... εὐλογίαν: note the word-play in Εὐλογίου and εὐλογίαν. On the many meanings of the word *eulogia*, see Commentary on 4A:53 / 4B:62–63.

83 ἐγγύησαι περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ: the theme of a holy person standing guarantor and taking upon himself the sins of someone else is known from other hagiographical texts. Here Eulogios, the sinner to be, is unaware of the spiritual contract made by the other person (in other texts sometimes called ἀνάδοχος or ἐγγυητής). This is also the case in *VAndrSal* 1387–1389 (see also n. 4 at p. 319 in the Commentary by Rydén). However, according to Barringer (“Penance”, 555), these two instances are not representative for this kind of penance, where a person is answering for another’s sin. In the story of Eulogios the Stone-cutter Daniel is banned for having done this (lines 167–168). I would also like to point out another peculiarity: Eulogios has not yet committed his sin; he is, as noted above, a sinner to be, and Daniel is forced to make the contract hoping that Eulogios will do as expected, and that Daniel himself will never be held responsible. In other Lives or stories the sin (or sins) has (have) already been committed. In some cases a penitent sinner is helped by an ἀνάδοχος, who takes upon himself the sin or the battle against a temptation (and its demon) of the sinner. In other cases the ἀνάδοχος is e.g. the head of a monastery, who takes the spiritual responsibility for the salvation of those under his care. This is the case in the *Life of Abraham and Mary* (BHG 5). See the translation from a Syriac version by Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 29–36, and especially the passage at p. 35: “My daughter, I have taken upon myself your wrongdoing: God will require this sin at my hands”. (The passage is commented upon at p. 28.) In the ninth century there is evidence of a liturgical ritual, in which the sinner places his hand on the neck or shoulder of the ἀνάδοχος, and

thus transfers his or her own sin to him. For further examples, see Barringer, “Penance”, 552–557, and Ware, “The Spiritual Father”, 309–312.

84 ἐν τοῖς πλείοσι: this is an euphemistic expression referring to the dead; see LSJ, s.v. πλείων, πλέων A.I.2. The equivalent expression for οἱ πλείονες (“the majority”) in Latin is *plures*; see Bergh & Gårding, “Abiit ad plures”, 69.

86–87 τὴν Ἀγίαν Ἀνάστασιν ... τοῦ ἁγίου λίθου: this church, the Anastasis (“Resurrection”), was one of the churches belonging to Emperor Constantine’s Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The other large church of this Basilica was the Martyrium (the chief church). The Anastasis was a rotunda with the tomb of Christ in the centre. The holy stone in front of the entrance of the tomb was said to be the stone that sealed the tomb, the stone the angel rolled away and sat on (Matt. 28:2); see Vincent & Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2, 181–185.

87 μειράκιον seems here to be an allusion to the angel in Matt. 28:2–7, but in lines 174–175, the Augusta (see Commentary on line 146) kisses the feet of the young man, which suggests that, at least in that passage, he may be identified with (the resurrected) Christ.

100 τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἶσι: this may be an allusion to biblical texts. In Exod. 3:21–22, 11:2–3, 12:35–36, and Ps. 105:37 appears a motif of the Israelites despoiling the Egyptians. But in these passages it seems clear that the Israelites brought the spoil (jewelry of silver and gold and clothing) in the exodus from Egypt. The Coptic (tr. by Guidi, *ROC* 5, 557 / 104) and Ethiopian (Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira, tr. p. 39) versions have “Ismaelites”.

102 μᾶλλον οὖν: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has μᾶλλον λάβω αὐτά (“I had better take it”).

107 Ἰουστῖνος ὁ γέρων: Emperor Justin I reigned 518–527. Since he is called “the Elder”, the emperor Justin II, who reigned 565–578, is likely to have been known to the author of this story. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has Ἰουστῖνος ὁ θεῖος Ἰουστινιανοῦ (“Justin, the uncle of Justinian”). According to the Ethiopic version published by Goldschmidt & Esteves Pereira (tr. p. 42) the emperor was Anastasios, who reigned 491–518.

## 6. *Eulogios the Stone-Cutter*

108 ἑπαρχὸν τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων: cf. lines 152 and 188. The praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetorio*) was originally the commander of the emperor's bodyguard, but from the fourth century he was the highest regional civil functionary. Four prefects were attached to the areas of Gallia, Italia, Illyricum, and Oriens, all with their own office; see *ODB*, 3, 1717–1711, s.v. “Praetorian prefect”. As is often the case with matters associated with the emperor, the praetorian guards are called “holy”. As is shown from lines 111 and 183 the emperor Justin died two years and three months after Eulogios was appointed. Justin died in 527, which would make the year of his appointment 525. The Nika riot, which he took part in (see Commentary on line 185, below), was in 532, and then he is still called prefect (lines 185–186). It is hardly credible that one man could hold this office for such a long period of time (525–532). Eulogios probably obtained the title as a titular or just as an honorary title; see *PLRE*, 2, 420, s.v. Eulogius 9.

110 μέχρι τῆς σήμερον: Garitte (“Daniel de Scété”, 71) believes that this expression suggests that the text was written at a date much later than when the events recorded in it took place. However, phrases of this kind are frequent in literature, and, as stated by Kazhdan, “Hagiographical Notes”, 186–187: “indicates predominately a relatively short distance of time between the event described and the narrator”. Cf. 8:69: ἕως τῆς σήμερον.

114 ἐνὸς Αἰθίοπος: i.e. a demon. In hagiographic literature, the devil and his demons are generally thought of as black, and are therefore often likened to, or even called, “Ethiopians”; see the examples collected by Wortley, *Répertoire* (General Index), s.v. “black-faced-one(s)”, and by Follieri in her edition of *VPhantlun*, p. 42, n. 29. Cf. also Brakke, “Ethiopian Demons”, and Byron, *Symbolic Blackness*.

115 τὴν μηλωτήν: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has τὴν πήραν (“shoulder-bag”).

119 παξαμάτια (also spelled παξαμάδια) is diminutive of the word παξαμᾶς (according to LSJ, s.v, so called from the baker Paxamos). This is bread baked twice in the oven and dried so that it forms small hard loaves or biscuits. Since it keeps well this bread was (together with salt) a stock food especially for soldiers and monks. For references in the writings of the desert fathers, see Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 65–67.

123 ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἡσυχίαν θέλει: the behaviour of the wandering monks challenged the ecclesiastical authorities, and in the fifth century they began to emphasize the importance of a monastic life of obedience in a community. Monks were supposed to live in a community or a cell, earning their living by manual labour. As expressed by Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 47: “Communal necessity and material needs recommended a spiritual life of physical stillness supported by manual labor.” For more on the negative attitudes against wandering monks, see Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, *passim*. Cf. lines 10–11.

126 εἰς κτῆμα: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 adds ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς μοναχὸς γενέσθαι, ὕπαγε εἰς Σκήτιν (“If you want to be a monk, go to Sketis”).

131 πατρίκιος: for this title, see Commentary on 8:62.

143–144 ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν κόσμον: i.e. leave the monastic life.

146 ἡ Αὐγοῦστα: this title (as well as Δέσποινα) was normally given to the empress and her daughters, but is here referring to Mary, the Holy Virgin. Cf. lines 204–205: ἡ Δέσποινα ἡμῶν Θεοτόκος.

153 ἐὰν δεῖ: see Commentary on 4A:20 / 4B:20.

158 ἄγωμεν: Daniel talks with himself using the plural ἄγωμεν. For other examples, see Rydén, *Bemerkungen*, 127.

160 Ἀλεξανδρίνον: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 adds καὶ ἀνέβην εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦ πλεῦσαι εἰς τὸ κελλίον μου (“and went aboard to sail to my cell”).

164 οὐχ ὑπάγεις πληροῖς: the verb ὑπάγω is here used to form a periphrastic future; see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 1.

184 Ἰουστινιανός: Emperor Justinian I reigned 527–565.

185 Ὑπάτιος καὶ Δεξικράτης καὶ Πομπήϊος: Hypatios and Pompeios were brothers. Together with their cousin Probos they were all nephews of Emperor Anastasios I, and aspired to succeed him when he died on July 9, 518. But it was Justin, the commander of the palace guard (*comes excubitorum*), who was

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chosen as his successor. He adopted his nephew Justinian and made him co-emperor in 527. When Justin died the same year, Justinian became sole emperor. On January 13, 532, the so-called Nika (lit. Conquer!) revolt against Justinian started. It began at the Hippodrome during the chariot racing, and according to some sources the riot was started by Hypatios and Pompeios, who hoped to gain power. But more probably it had political causes, especially discontent with Justinian's fiscal policy. Hypatios was proclaimed emperor by the people, but the riot was suppressed. He and Pompeios were executed on January 19, and their corpses thrown into the sea. Probos fled and was exiled by Justinian. Their properties were confiscated along with those of many others, who were also executed or exiled. Later, however, Hypatios' and Pompeios' properties were restored to their families, and Probos was recalled. Neither Dexikrates nor Eulogios is mentioned in any other source in connection with this riot, but a man named Dexikrates was consul in the year 503. *PLRE* (2, 357, s.v. Fl. Dexicrates) suggests that the name may have been wrongly inserted in the story in place of Probos (who was consul in 502). Hypatios was consul in 500 and Pompeios in 501; see *PLRE*, 2, 577–581, s.v. Fl. Hypatius 6; 898–899, s.v. Pompeius 2; 912–913, s.v. Probus 8. On the reigns of Justin and Justinian, see further Cameron, “Justin I and Justinian”, 63–85, and on the Nika revolt, see pp. 71–72, and *ODB*, 2, 1473, s.v. “Nika revolt”.

195 εἰς τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους: the “Holy Places” refer to the pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land, of which the main one was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

200 ἕως ὥρας ἑκτης: i.e. until noon.

203 Αἴγυπτος: i.e. the region nearest to the Nile.

212–213 σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ... ἀνυψοῖ: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 has ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνυψῶν πένητα (“who lifts up the poor from the earth and raises the needy from the dunghill” = LXX Ps. 112(113):7; cf. 1 Reg. (1 Samuel) 2:8a).

229 τοῦ χειρουργίου αὐτοῦ: the MS Par. Coisl. 283 adds ἰδοὺ οὖν εἶπόν σοι καὶ πόθεν αὐτὸν γνωρίζω καὶ πῶς λοιπὸν σὺ μὴ δευτερώσης ταῦτα τινί (“Thus I have told you from where I know him, and also why you may not

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repeat this to anyone.”) Cf. line 56, where first the disciple is forbidden to tell **this** story to anyone. See Commentary *ad loc.*



## 7. Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia

Tit. τοῦ ἀργυροπράτου: the word ἀργυροπράτης (Lat. *argentarius*) also means “silversmith”, but the trade developed into that of a banker or financier, who would receive deposits and lend money. Many citizens became indebted to them, and they could become very wealthy (cf. line 7); see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 2, 863–864.

3 Ἀντιοχεία τῇ μεγάλῃ: the epithet “Great” is common for Antioch on the Orontes in Syria.

4 θυγατέρα: the MSS have the post-classical form θυγατέραν. Most likely they have added the final -ν to avoid hiatus (the following word being Ἰωάννου). Other similar cases of additional final -ν in one or more MSS are found in e.g. 2:16, 5:81, 6:95, 6:161, and on line 114, below.

4 Ἰωάννου: the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283 omit his name.

5–6 ὧντως γὰρ ἀθανασία ... λογισμῶ: the text alludes to the fact that her name Athanasia means “immortality”. “Her deeds and sense” refer to her later actions, which will make her an eternal example to follow.

8–10 τὰ τοῦ ἀργυροπρατείου ... ἑαυτῶν: the theme of dividing possessions into three parts is known from other hagiographic texts. As noticed by Vivian (“Witness”, 38, n. 150–151), there is a similar story in *AP/G* Eucharistos. Eucharistos and his wife Mary earn their living from shepherding. They divide and distribute their profits and, just as in the story of Andronikos and Athanasia, they live in sexual abstinence (see Commentary on line 15–16, below): Eucharistos says: ... ποιούμεν εἰς τρία μέρη· μέρος ἓν τοῖς πτωχοῖς, καὶ μέρος ἓν εἰς τὴν φιλοξενίαν, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος εἰς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῶν. ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ ἔλαβον τὴν γυναῖκά μου, οὐκ ἐμιάνθην οὔτε ἐγὼ οὔτε αὐτή, ἀλλὰ παρθένος ἐστί (“... we divide it into three parts: one for the poor, another for hospitality, and the third for our own needs. Since I married my wife, neither am I stained, nor is she, but she is a virgin”).

15–16 οὐκέτι προσέθετο προσεγγίσει: i.e. they had no further sexual relationship. The usage of προστίθημι as a paraphrased expression for adverbs meaning “again” or “further” is known from biblical language, and shows influence from Hebrew; see BDAG, s.v. 1.c, and LSJ, s.v. A.III.5 and B.III. For further examples of similar separations from marriage cohabitation, see Elm, ‘*Virgins of God*’, 324–325. Cf. also the story of Nilos of Ankyra in *Narrat.* 2.601. He and his wife separated after the birth of their two children. For the connection between almsgiving and chastity, see Brown, *Body and Society*, 309–311.

16 ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος: the MS Par. gr. 1598 adds ἀλλ’ ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ σπουδὴ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων φιλοχρίστων (“but instead their zeal was together with other persons who loved Christ”), and the MS Par. Coisl. 282 adds ἀλλ’ ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ σπουδὴ ἐκ (sic!) τὰς φιλοπονίας μετὰ ἄλλων χρηστῶν ἀργυροπρατῶν (“but instead their zeal was devoted to good works together with other good money-dealers”). In his orations, Libanios describes how, in the fourth century, food distributions were made by shopkeepers in Antioch for the poor every month; see e.g. *Or.* 46.21 (*Contra Florentium*).

17–19 ἐσχόλαζεν ... εἰς τὰ λούσματα ... τῆς φιλοπτωχείας ἔνεκα: the Syriac version published by Bedjan (*AMS*, 6, 406) has,<sup>1</sup> according to the translation published by Nau (*ROC* 5, 402 / 79): “cet illustre Andronicus allait en service (= εἰς τὰς διακονίας) pour laver les pauvres, et sa femme pour laver les femmes.” This kind of ministration, bathing sick and poor people, took place at night and is also known from the Syriac writings of John of Ephesos. In his *VSSOrient* 46 (*PO* 18, 671–676), a man called Paul of Antioch is described as a founder of a social service (διακονία) in Antioch, where bathing was a part of the work (tr. Brooks, p. 672): “and the object of his zeal was to carry poor and old and sick persons by night, and he would take them and bathe them and anoint them”, doing this “also to women”. Paul is then said to have spread this ministration to many other cities including Constantinople, where (tr. Brooks, p. 675): “he also provided relief and refreshment with every kind of bathing for the poor and the strangers who were present.” Many were inspired “and imitated it”<sup>2</sup> so that other deaconries (διακονίας) were established not for men only but also

<sup>1</sup> For her kind help with the Syriac text in this and other passages of the story, I am grateful to Dr. Lena Ambjörn.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. his zeal.

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for women ...” His work is also mentioned in John of Ephesos, *HE* 2.15. Here it seems that monks and clergymen, as well as laymen, were involved in the work of these deaconries, and that they were connected to the anti-chalcedonian Monophysite movement; see e.g. *HE* 2.15 (ed. Brooks, p. 77, tr. Payne Smith): “... an information was laid before the king and bishop, that all the members were opposed to the council of Chalcedon, and had admitted into their fraternity many monks and clergymen.” The same chapter also says that one of the two main deaconries in Constantinople was led by a money-dealer.

20 ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν: the MS Par. gr. 1598 has καὶ μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη χρόνον μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν (“and after twelve years, one day”).

21 τῆς φιλοπονίας: (lit. love of work) From the fourth century, we know of Christian laymen in Alexandria who formed groups, confraternities, or guilds, whose members were called φιλόπονοι (lit. lovers of work) or σπουδαῖοι (lit. zealous ones). The confraternity (and its house) was called τὸ φιλοπονεῖον or ἡ φιλοπονία. We know of such confraternities also in other parts of Egypt, in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Beirut, Pisidia, and Antioch. Many of the members seem to have belonged to the town elite (as in the case of Andronikos and Athanasia). The members pursued their social and business lives, but also practised a religious life of deep devotion to the activities of the confraternity. Chastity was held in high regard. As in the case of Andronikos and Athanasia, it appears that many of the members of these confraternities later became monks. An important activity was regular attendance at vigils and other services held in the churches. The philanthropic work mostly concerned almsgiving and the care for the sick and poor. In Antioch and Constantinople, they seem to have been connected to Monophysite groups; see Commentary on lines 18–19, above. They were separated by sex. The reading of the MS Par. Coisl. 282 suggests that there might also have been a separation by trade, or possibly guilds within the guilds; see Commentary on line 16, above.

Apart from this story, there exist some other references to this kind of associations in Antioch: John Moschos in *PratSpir*, ed. Nissen 12, says that there were different kinds of social services (διακονίαι) in Antioch, and then tells of one which distributed clothes. The social services founded by Paul of Antioch, as described by John of Ephesos, were associations of this type; see Commentary on lines 18–19, above, and Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 192 with n. 260–261. Zacharias of Mytilene, in his *VSeveri* (p. 54–55), speaks of Evagrios of Samosata, a student in Antioch who joined a group of people which seems to have been an

association of *philoponoi*: “and henceforth [he] was in the holy churches all the time, joining those who, at that time, were singing all night in the Church of all-famous Stephen, the first martyr—men devoted to practical philosophy and who are in many ways no less than the hermits.”<sup>3</sup>

For a general study of lay confraternities in Byzantium, see Horden, “Confraternities of Byzantium”, 25–45. For the *philoponoi*, see Pétridès, “Spoudaei et Philopones”, 341–348, and Leclercq, “Confréries”, 3, 2553–2560. For the *philoponoi* of Egypt, see Wipszycka, “Confraternity”, 2, 586–588, Wipszycka, “Les confréries”, 257–278, and Trombley, *Hellenic Religion*, 2, 1–51.

28–29 τὸν Ἅγιον Ἰουλιανόν: the Church of Saint Julian was situated about 4.5 km (three miles) from Antioch, probably on the road to Daphne. Julian of Anazarbos was martyred in Cilicia, during the persecution of the Christians by Diocletian in the third century. From the fifth century, other great saints too were buried here. The sanctuary was called “temple”, “martyrion” (as in line 43), and “basilica” by different authors; see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 340.

29 ἐκεῖ γὰρ κεῖνται οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν: this description might be the author’s commentary on a fact that still was true in his time.

30 ὥρας ἑκτης: i.e. at noon.

44–45 εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον: the MS Par. gr. 1598 has εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον παρεμυθήσατο αὐτόν (“... into the episcopal residence and comforted him”).

54 σοι γάρ: the MSS M and V have γάρ σοι, but the reading of MSS E and P is a lectio difficilior. That this type of postponement (mobile word + enclitic + particle) appears in post-classical literature is shown by Blomqvist (*Greek Particles*, 109), who lists 91 occurrences.

57 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ: i.e. on the day of judgement.

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<sup>3</sup> The quotation is from a preliminary version of the English translation of the *Vita Severi*, which is being prepared at Lund University by Lena Ambjörn, with commentaries by Jan-Eric Steppa.

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62 τὸν λαλήσαντα αὐτῇ ἀββᾶν: the MS Par. gr. 1598 has τὸν ἀββᾶν περιελθοῦσα ὅλον τὸν νάον (“the abba, going through the whole church”).

68 αὐτῆς: the MS Par. gr. 1598 adds καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ὁ θυρωρὸς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς (“and the door-keeper took her, and led her to her home”).

71–72 ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, βάλλεις ... τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου: this is a politely expressed appeal. For similar expressions, see Ljungvik, *Beiträge*, 60–61.

73 μίαν ἑβδομάδα: in hagiographical literature, one week, as well as three days, is a standard length of time. For further examples, see Rydén, *Bemerkungen*, 90–91.

77–78 τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους: see Commentary on 6:195.

79 ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν Θεόν: this expression seems to be a contamination of the two expressions οὕτως ἔχεις τὸν Θεόν (“for the sake of God”) and πρὸς Θεοῦ or τὸν Θεόν (“by God”), which are equivalent oath-expressions; see Rydén, “A misinterpreted formula”, 101–105. Cf. line 108.

80–81 ξενοδοχεῖον μοναχῶν: see Commentary on 3:40.

81–82 καὶ ἐλευθέρωσας ... λεγᾶτα: slave-owning was not regarded as a sin. Monks, however, were not allowed to own slaves, or any other personal property, and for that reason they freed their slaves. The manumission of slaves by Christians was usually done by *manumissio in ecclesia*, in the church in front of the clergy and congregation. The only Church-father who strongly condemned slave-owning, regarding it as a sin, seems to have been Gregory of Nyssa; see Garnsey, *Ideas of slavery*, 80–85.

82 εὐλογίαν: the general meaning of *eulogia* is a blessing (or benediction), but it is a word of many meanings; see Commentary on 4A:53 / 4B:62–63.

92 συντυχόντες πολλοὺς πατέρας: the verb συντυγχάνω normally governs the dative (cf. line 113, below). On the gradual extension of the accusative at the expense of the dative and genitive in post-classical Greek, see Jannaris, § 1242.

92–93 τὸν Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν Ἀλεξανδρείας: Menas, who was a soldier in the Roman army, was martyred at the beginning of the fourth century. A shrine was built over his tomb in Mareotis (modern Maryût), about 43 km southwest of Alexandria on the traditional western road from Alexandria to Sketis. The wonders of St. Menas soon became widely known and gradually a whole city was built at the site. The Shrine of St. Menas was one of the most famous martyria in Late Antiquity, and attracted many pilgrims (also from abroad) hoping for cure, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries. Most likely, *philoponoî*<sup>4</sup> attached to the centre assisted in the work and services, as has been recorded from other pilgrimage sites; see Grossmann, “Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ”, 291. On the shrine, see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 319–322, Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*, 168–179, Grossmann, “Abu Mina”, 1, 24–29, and Grossmann, “Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ”, 281–302.

94 παρακύπτει οὖν ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος: A new episode is here presented rather abruptly. Possibly some words are missing. Andronikos probably looked out from a door or window.

94 περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην: i.e. about three in the afternoon.

98 ὥρας ἑκτης: see Commentary on line 30, above. The MS Par. gr. 1598 has ὥρας δευτέρας (“the second hour”), i.e. at eight in the morning.

108 ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν Ἅγιον Μηνᾶν: see Commentary on line 79, above.

115–116 εἰς μοναστήριον τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν: on Tabennese and Pachomios, see Commentary on 5:24. As noticed by Vivian (“Witness”, 40, n. 157), the monastery mentioned here could refer to one of Pachomios’ monasteries, but the meaning may simply be a cenobitic monastery following the Pachomian rule, in contrast to the semi-anchoritic *lavras* (see Commentary on 2:62–63), which are the common form of monasteries referred to in the Daniel stories. Cf. 5:24, where, according to the Syriac version published by Nau (*ROC* 5, 391 / 69), the women’s monastery is called “Tabennesiotes”. Wipszycka (“Monachisme égyptien”, 321) believes that the redactor of the Syriac version may have had little knowledge of the region of the Thebaid, assuming that every

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<sup>4</sup> See Commentary on line 21, above.

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monastery there was Pachomian. The reason may be the same in the case of this story. A women's monastery of Tabennesiotes is referred to in *HL* 33–34.

126 τὴν Αἴγυπτον: see Commentary on 1:43.

127 ἀκανθέας: it is unclear which species of plant this is. *DGE*, s.v. ἀκανθέα, translates “árbol de la goma” or “Acacia arabica”. Lampe, s.v., translates this occurrence “Spanish broom”. Except for this occurrence, the word is only found in papyri. Some papyri mentioning this word together with the words for e.g. olive-trees and date-palms suggest a kind of fruit-tree, possibly a fig-tree. See e.g. *PMich* 13, no. 666.9–11: καὶ φυτῶν καὶ φοινίκων καὶ ἐλεώνων καὶ συγαμινέων κ[αὶ] κ[ι]τρίων καὶ ἀκανθεῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν διαφέρων ἐγκάρπον τε καὶ ἀκάρπον ... (“and trees and date-palms and olive-yards and mulberry-trees and citron-trees and *akantheai* and all different trees both fruit-bearing and not fruit-bearing ...”), and *PHerm*, no. 26.3–4: ἐν ᾧ λάκκος ὀλόκληρος καὶ φοίνικες καὶ ἀκανθέαι καὶ συκάμινο[ι] καὶ οἰκία καὶ ἕτερα χρηστήρια (“in which there are a full reservoir and date-palms and *akantheai* and mulberry-trees and houses and other utensils”). Cf. also *Pland* 7, no. 142.2.11: ἐν ᾧ ἐλ(άϊνα) φυτ(ὰ) κ(αὶ) φοί(νικες) κ(αὶ) ἄκ(ανθαι) κ(αὶ) ἕτερα ἀκρόδ(ρυα) (“in which there are olive-trees and date-palms and *akanthai* and other fruit-trees”).

We have to remember, however, that in Antiquity there were no fixed usages of plant names, so e.g. ἄκανθα could mean any thorny plant; see Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, 17. Possibly both ἄκανθα and ἀκανθέα could be used to indicate any thorny plant.

127 ἵνα λάβῃ ἀναψυχήν: the MSS have ἵνα λάβῃ ψυχὴν (“to receive life”). The reading of the MS Par. gr. 1598 makes better sense. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has ἀναπαῆναι (“to get relief”).

128 ἐν ἀνδρικῷ σχήματι: for the theme of cross-dressing, which also occurs in story no. 8, see Introduction, Chapter II, parts 1 and 6.

130 ἡ περιστέρα is here a term of endearment. Cf. *VMarlun*, p. 695, where it is said of Mary the Younger, a pious housewife who was martyred in 903: ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ τελεία αὕτη περιστέρα, ἡ ὅλη ἀγομένη τῷ πνεύματι

(“Thus it happened with this perfect dove,<sup>5</sup> who was wholly moved by the spirit”, tr. by Laiou, “Life of St. Mary”, 262). Early in the Christian tradition the dove in Song of Sol. 2:10, 2:14, and 6:8 was interpreted as the Church and the Bride of Christ. The dove was also a symbol of innocence and good virtues, which is expressed for instance in Matt. 10:16: ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί (“innocent as doves”). For περιστερὰ referring to the Virgin Mary, see Lampe, s.v. F.

131–132 ὡς Αἰθίοπα φαινομένην: the word “Ethiopian (woman)” (lit. black-faced) is here used to describe the opposite of female beauty. Female ascetics are often described as heavily tanned, “black”, see e.g. the *Life of St Mary of Egypt* 10, and the *Life of St Theokiste of Lesbos* 17 (for translations, see *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 76 and 110). For the common use of the word Αἰθίοψ in comparisons with, or even in the clear sense of “the devil” or “a demon”, see Commentary on 6:114.

Two other texts, too, about cross-dressers describe recognition scenes, where only one part of the family recognises the other, and where the description of the cross-dresser’s wasted beauty is expressed in interrogative form. In the Coptic *Life of Hilaria*, the cross-dresser Hilaria/Hilarion meets her sister, who does not recognise her. See *VHil*, p. 8 (Coptic text) with the English tr. at p. 77: “How should she know her, since her flesh had withered through mortification and the beauty of her body had altered, and her appearance, she being nought but skin and bone?” In the *Life of Theodora of Alexandria*, the husband of Theodora meets with his wife without recognising her (PG 115, col. 673): ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἂν ἐκείνῳ συμβαλεῖν τὴν ὁμόζυγον εἶναι, ἄνδρα τὸ φαινόμενον καθορῶντι, καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρας ἐνδεδυμένον, καὶ ἄλλως ἐσθῆτος οὕσης μοναχικῆς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῆς ὥρας ὑπομαρανθείσης αὐτῇ τῇ ἀμέτρῳ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ τῷ τραχεῖ τῆς ἀσκήσεως; (“But how could he conclude that it was his wife, when what he looked upon seemed to be a man, also dressed as a man, and especially since the dress was monastic, and since already her beauty had wasted away because of the immense distress and the harshness of the asceticism?”) On female cross-dressers’ physical transformation, see Commentary on 8:52.

134 {λέγει οὖν αὐτῇ·}: the MSS have added these words by mistake.

144 τὸ Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον: see Commentary on 4A:4 / 4B:4.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. LXX Song of Sol. 6:8.



## 7. *Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*

149 ὅτι καλὸς ἐστίν: the MS Par. gr. 1598 has μοναχὸς γάρ ἐστίν ὡς δεῖ εἶναι (“for he is a monk as is appropriate”).

161 ποίησον ἀγάπην: see Commentary on 5:21.

162 πιττάκιον: the note is not further mentioned in the text. However, in the MS Par. gr. 1598, the *desinit* of which is quite different, the note is mentioned later again, and there its content is revealed, viz. the information of Athanasios’ true identity; see Commentary on line 175, below.

162 πρὸς κεφαλῆς: i.e. at the head of the bed. The expression is well known from biblical literature. See e.g. LXX 1 Reg. (1 Samuel) 19:13, 16; 3 Reg. (1 Kings) 19:6. The MS Par. gr. 1598 has προσκέφαλα. For this word, see Lampe, s.v.

165–166 καὶ ἠκούσθη εἰς ὅλην τὴν λαύραν: The Syriac version (AMS, 6, 414–415) adds a description of Andronikos’ reaction (tr. Nau, ROC 5, 404 / 81): “Quand Andronicus apprit la chose et sut que c’était Athanasie, sa femme, il se jeta sur son sein et l’embrassa avec d’abondantes larmes en disant: Malheur à moi qui avais ma perle près de moi et ne l’ai pas remarquée; j’avais ma maîtresse dans ma cellule et je ne l’ai pas connue, — et autres choses semblables dans sa douleur.”

167 τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον: see Commentary on 8:2.

168–170 οἱ Σκητιῶται ἀσπροφοροῦντες. ... ἐν τῇ Σκήτει: as expressed by Vivian (“Witness”, 42, n. 163): “it is not clear whether the narrator intends to mean it was the monks’ custom to wear white for a special (funerary?) occasion or whether white was the normal color of monastic dress.” In the Coptic *Life of Hilaria*, the people wear white in a feast day procession in Alexandria. See *VHil*, p. 3 (Coptic text) with the English tr. at p. 72: “Next morning she saw the multitude, wearing white garments, making their way to the patronal church; for it was the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist.” This supports the theory that white was a colour for special occasions. Cf. also 2:58 and Vivian, “Witness”, 31, n. 118.

170 μετὰ κλάδων καὶ βαΐων: cf. 2:58–59.

175 τελευτήσω: the MS Par. gr. 1598 continues and ends the story in a different way: *Des.* ἀνήγγειλεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ πιπτακίου μαθὼν ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἦν. καὶ ἔμεινε ἐκεῖσε ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀνδρόνικος, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἐκοιμήθη καὶ αὐτός. καὶ ἀναβὰς πάλιν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιὴλ καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατέρας ἐπισωρεύσας ἐκήδευσεν τὸ λείψανον μετὰ ψαλμῶν καὶ ὕμνων καὶ κατέθηκεν αὐτῷ (sic!) πλησίον τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀθανασίου. εἰς δόξαν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. (“For the elder had told him what he had learnt from the note—that she was his wife. Abba Andronikos stayed there, and some time later he, too, fell asleep. Once again Abba Daniel went up, and when he had gathered all the fathers, he buried the corpse with psalms and hymns and placed it close by Abba Athanasios. To the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and for evermore. Amen.”) In this redaction the note from line 162 is mentioned again, and now its content is revealed.

The motif of posthumous self-revelation is also found in a version of the story of the “man of God” (*BHG* 56a); see Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 81–86.

178 ἀκολουθεῖ τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀθανάσιον: the verb ἀκολουθέω normally governs the dative. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀνδρόνικος συνέχεται (“Abba Andronikos is in pain”). Cf. lines 92, and 179–180.

185–186 ἵνα βοηθῶσιν ἡμῖν αἱ εὐχαὶ αὐτοῦ: see also line 191 and 199, below. The belief that the deceased make intercessions for the living is here clearly expressed. Cf. 8:25–26 with Commentary *ad loc.*

187 καταθήσομεν αὐτόν: the MS Par. Coisl. 282 adds: οἱ οὖν Σκητιῶται πλείωνες ἦσαν. καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου· εἴ τι λέγει ὁ γέρων ποιήσωμεν (“Those of Sketis were superior in number. The archimandrite of Oktokaidekaton said: ‘We will do whatever the elder says’”).

189–191 ὁ γέρων ἄνω ἐστὶ ... αἱ εὐχαὶ αὐτοῦ: Daniel is a holy man and therefore closer to God than the younger monks. He can easily fight the devil, who infuses the lusts of the flesh into man. According to Vivian, “Holy Men and Businessmen”, 368, n. 39: “Daniel, the monks are saying, has no fear of combat with the Enemy—Satan—while they do, so they need the body of the dead saint as a holy relic to protect them from evil.” Another example of a monk held in

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great reverence, and who therefore is said to belong to heaven, is given in an Egyptian letter from the fourth century (*PHeid* 1.6), possibly belonging to the Paphnutios archive and originally published by Deissmann, *Septuaginta-Papyri*, 94–104 (no. 6). The writer, Justin, asks the monk Paphnutios to pray for him, saying (lines 7–10): πιστεύομεν γὰρ τὴν πολιτία[ν σ]ου ἐν οὐρανῷ. ἐγίθην θεοροῦμέν σε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ κενὸν (π)ά[τ]ρω[να]. (“for we believe that your citizenship is in heaven.<sup>6</sup> There we perceive you to be our master and new patron.”, tr. by Vivian, “Holy Men and Businessmen”, 343) Cf. also 5:73–76, where the *hegumene* of a women’s monastery tells Daniel that the sisters are novices, and therefore eat better food than the elder and his disciple.

191 αἱ εὐχαὶ αὐτοῦ: the MS Par. Coisl. 283 adds: ἀρκεῖ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰάσαμεν τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀθανάσιον (“It should be enough for you that we leave you Abba Athanasios”).

197 μεῖναι: the MS Par. Coisl. 126 adds: ταῦτα ἐθάρρησεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Δανιήλ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ (“This is what Abba Daniel confided to his disciple”). This sentence is found in MSS transmitting *AP/GN*; see Introduction, Chapter III, part 2.3. The disciple is mentioned in all the other seven Daniel stories in the *Scor./Mosq.* dossiers. For a discussion of differences between this and the other stories, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 6.

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Phil. 3:20.

## 8. Anastasia Patrikia

2 Εὐνοῦχος τις ... Σκήτεως: after this sentence many redactions have an additional sentence with the same content as the following (from the MS Par. Coisl. 282): εἶχε δὲ τὸ κελλίον ὡς ἀπὸ μυλίων δεκαοκτὼ τῆς αὐτῆς Σκήτεως (“He had his cell about eighteen miles from that same Sketis”).

2 τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον: the inner (or interior) desert, also called the great (or full) desert, is the one furthest away from the Nile as opposite to the exterior (or near) desert closest to the Nile. However, in the sixth century Sketis was normally not called the inner or great desert, since as early as the beginning of the fifth century the barbarian assaults had caused the monks to exchange their lives as loosely organized groups of solitary anchorites for more organized cenobitic lives in communities; see Guy, “Introduction”, 73–74. For the development of the idea of the desert in Egypt, see Guillaumont, “Conception du désert”, 69–87, and Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 3–11.

14 στῦλον: “pillar” was a common way of designating a saint; see the examples collected by Lampe, s.v. στῦλος 5.

14 ἐξαφεῖ is supposedly from the verb ἐξαφέω, which is not found in the dictionaries. However, this verb form is also found in a medical text, where it seems to have the same meaning as here. The work is a commentary on the *Prognostikon* of Hippocrates, and the word is in a section of the work discussing dropsy. See Stephanus, *Comm.*: πρὸ ὥρας ἐπεχειρομένη ἢ καθεκτικὴ ἐξαφεῖ<sup>1</sup> αὐτό (tr. by Duffy: “the retentive is stimulated prematurely and expels it”). The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has ἐξαφίησι (the present ind. 3 sg. of ἐξαφίημι).

22–23 μακάριος ... νέε Ἀβραάμ ... τούτων: the theological notion of fruit in biblical literature usually alludes to deeds, see e.g. Matt. 3:10; 7:17ff; Luke 13:6. Here, it most likely alludes to the good deeds of Daniel. Possibly Daniel is called “a new Abraham” as an allusion to the well-known piety of Abraham. Another

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS have ἐξαφῆ.

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possibility is that the word καρπούς alludes to the disciples of Daniel. (For καρπός in the sense of “spiritual offspring” or “disciple”, see Lampe, s.v. A.2.) If this is the case, it might be that, when Daniel is called “a new Abraham”, the eunuch is referring to Abraham as the great Patriarch, the father of all nations (see Gen. 17:2–6). Daniel is also a Patriarch, the father of many disciples. Cf. lines 28–30 (with Commentary *ad loc.*), where Daniel again is compared to Abraham.

26 εἰ προελάβανον ... παρακαλέσαι: the meaning of this sentence is not quite clear, but possibly the elder is saying that if he had been dead he could have prayed for the eunuch. (For προλαμβάνω in the sense of “precede (of the departed)”, see Lampe, s.v. 8.) The belief that the deceased make intercessions for the living is expressed in 7:185–186, 191, and 199. See also e.g. AP/G Arsenios 35 (GS XI 6).

28–30 ὁ Θεὸς ... Ἀβραάμ: the meaning of the phrase πληρώσει μετὰ τοῦ γήρους σου and the parallel with Abraham is probably that the disciple of Daniel corresponds to the son, whom Abraham got in his old age (viz. Isaac; see Gen. 21:1–7). In response to this saying of the eunuch, Daniel asks him to bless his child, i. e. the disciple (line 32). The genitive preceded by the preposition μετὰ seems to be equivalent to an accusative. For μετὰ in the phrase μετὰ Ἀβραάμ, see LSJ, s.v. A.III. Cf. LXX Judith 8:26: ὅσα ἐποίησεν μετὰ Ἀβραάμ (“what things he did to Abraham”). Cf. lines 22–23 (with Commentary *ad loc.*) where Daniel is called “a new Abraham”.

31 εἰς τοὺς πόδας: the MS Par. Coisl. 283 has ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα (“to his knees”).

42–43 δότε μοι ἀγάπην τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ: for ἀγάπη meaning “kiss of peace (in liturgy)”, see Lampe, s.v. E.2. Cf. *PratSpir*, ed. Mioni 3, where a man who is an alms-giver by night says to a dead monk: ἐγείρου, ἀδελφέ, καὶ δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπην (“Rise up, brother, and give me the kiss of peace in Christ”). And the brother rises, greets him, and then falls asleep. For other meanings of the word, see Commentary on line 54, below, and 3:8.

44–45 καὶ ἔλαμψε ... ὡς πῦρ: descriptions of such bodily glorifications are common in the texts of holy men, especially in connection with their death. These descriptions take their origin from the Bible passages of Moses coming down from Mount Sinai in Exod. 34:29–35 and of the transfiguration of Jesus in

Matt. 17:2. In the *AP* this physical transformation can be seen as a symbol of ecstatic prayer and a gift given to holy men; see Gould, *The Desert Fathers*, 177–182.

50 φασκίαν σίβινον: the general meaning of φασκία (Lat. *fascia*) is “bandage” or “band”; see LSJ and Sophocles, s.v. The Latin word *fascia* denotes e.g. “(babies’) swaddling-clothes” or “bands wrapped around the legs or feet”, but also “(a woman’s) breast-band” (*fascia pectoralis*), which is most probably the meaning here. For the different usages of *fascia*, see Lafaye, “Fascia”, 979–983, and Mau, “Fasciae”, 2006–2009. Cf. also Dimitrakos, s.v. φασκία 2.

For the word σίβινον, the dictionaries refer to σεβένιον “palm-fibre”; see Lampe and Sophocles, s.v. σίβινον. (LSJ (*Supplement*), s.v. σεβένιον and σεβέννιον, translate “fibrous spathe of male date-palm”.) Sophocles, s.v. σεβένιον, claims that “the primitive must have been σέβενον, of which σεβένιον is the diminutive form”. The MS Par. Coisl. 282 has φασκίδιον ἀπὸ σιβίνου φοινίκων (“a breast-band of date-palm fibre”).

51 κεντόνιον: the spelling recorded by the dictionaries is κεντώνιον; see Lampe and Sophocles, s.v. κεντώνιον. The MS Par. Coisl. 283 has κεντόνην.

52 ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν: similar recognition scenes at the death of cross-dressers are, as noted by Vivian (“Witness”, 46, n. 174), found in *AP/G* Bessarion 4 (*GS* XX.1): συσπελλόντων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ θάψαι αὐτὸν ἠύραμεν ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν τῇ φύσει (“When we prepared the body to bury it, we found out that it was a woman by nature”), and in *VPelag* 49 (p. 93): ἔγνωσαν ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν τῇ φύσει (“they discovered that it was a woman by nature”).

Many redactions of this story give a more explicit description of the disciple’s discovery with the same content as the following (from the MS Par. Coisl. 282): ὅτι οἱ μαθητοὶ αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς εἰσιν ὥσπερ δύο (173r) φύλλα ξηρὰ μεμαραμμένα (“that his breasts were those of a woman, like two dried-out, withered leaves”). Vivian (“Witness”, 46, n. 174) notes the similarities with the description of the female cross-dresser Hilaria/Hilarion in the Coptic *Life of Hilaria*. See *VHil*, p. 6 (Coptic text) with the English tr. at p. 75: “For her breasts, too, they were not as those of all women”. However, this is not a recognition scene at her death, as claimed by Vivian. For a discussion on this story’s similarities and differences with *VHil*, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 6. Female cross-dressers’ physical transformation due to steady fasting could have

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been a way of becoming male not only in physical appearance but also spiritually, by refuting their supposedly inferior feminine nature. On this, see e.g. Clark, “Women and Asceticism”, 33–48. Literature on women’s asceticism is vast. Other recent studies are Bynum, *Holy Feast*, Shaw, *Fasting and Sexuality*, and Grimm, *Feasting to Fasting*. See also Aspegren, *The Male Woman*. Cf. Commentary on 7:131–132.

54 ἀγάπην: cf. line 56, below. The *agape* was a meal the monks partook of in connection with the Eucharist, either preceding it on Saturday evening, or following the Sunday morning service, in both cases breaking the fast. It could also be taken at feast days and in commemoration of the death of a monk; see e.g. AP/G Arsenios 39 (GS X.10). For more details about the *agape*, see Donahue, “The Ἀγάπη”, 97–114, and Regnault, *Day-to-Day Life*, 169–171. See also the examples collected by Lampe, s.v. E.4.

56 παξαμάδας: see Commentary on 6:119.

62 πρώτη πατρικία: *patrikios* (Lat. *patricius*) was a high-ranking dignity, which could be given to high officials by the emperor as an honorific title. *Patrikia* was the wife or widow of a *patrikios*; see ODB, 3, 1600, s.v. “Patrikios”. The word πρώτη (“of the highest rank”) is missing in the MSS Par. Coisl. 282 and 283.

63 ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανός: the emperor Justinian I reigned 527–565.

64 ἡ Θεοδώρα: cf. line 70. The wife of Justinian, Empress Theodora, died on June 28, 548.

68 τὸ Πέμπτον: see Commentary on 2:42–43. According to the Syriac version published by Nau (ROC 5, 399 with n. 1 / 76 with n. 1) the monastery was founded at Enaton.

69: ἕως τῆς σήμερον: see Commentary on 6:110.

75 σήμερον εἰκοσιοκτὼ ἔτη: this would be in the year 576.

77 μαγιστριανούς: the *magistrianos* (“magister’s man”, Lat. *agens in rebus*) was an official on the staff of the *Magister officiorum* (μάγιστρος τῶν ὀφικίων), who was the head of the civil administrative offices in the late Roman

Empire; see *ODB*, 1, 36–37, s.v. “Agentes in rebus”, and 2, 1267, s.v. “Magister officiorum”.

78 ὁ πάπας: see Commentary on 2:8.

80 ff. καὶ οἱ μὲν βασιλικῶς κ.τ.λ.: the narrator wants to point out the importance of humility. Lay people, even when rich, are in their own ways able to attain holiness. The importance of humility is frequently stressed in the *AP*. Cf. e.g. *AP/G* An Abba of Rome 1 (*GS* X.110).<sup>2</sup> An Egyptian abba visits an old monk with great reputation but is shocked when he sees his relatively comfortable life in his cell. But, as it turns out, the Egyptian had lived his earlier life in hardness and poverty, and now he lives a life of ease and possession, while the monk had been a wealthy man at the court in Rome, and now his life is full of hardship, humility and poverty. According to Burton-Christie (*The Word in the Desert*, 245–247) the importance of making the whole life a movement (downwards) toward humility is stressed in this story. He comments (p. 247): “the contrast in the *directions* of their lives was clearly a memorable and poignant reminder for the monks of how personal and subjective the experience of humility was” and “the consistent downward trajectory of Arsenius’s life revealed an experience of humility which the Egyptian did not have.”

87 ἐκαλεῖτο: in the Syriac version published by Nau (*ROC* 5, 400, n. 3 / 77, n. 3), which is given immediately after the story of the woman who pretended to be mad, the story ends with an additional text. According to the English translation in Brock & Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women*, 148–149: “The blessed disciple then went to his cell, sat down and wrote all this that he had heard and seen. This patrician Anastasia was a deaconess in the time of the holy Severos; he wrote her many letters, full of explanations of the things she used to ask him about, when she lived in a monastery with sisters, before she arrived in the desert of Skete. The end of the history of a sister who lived in a convent and was considered to be mad and out of her mind; also about Anastasia the patrician, a deaconess.” The first words are translated by Nau: “Quand le bienheureux arriva à sa cellule ...”. The first Syriac word means “the blessed” and most likely refers to Abba Daniel. However, one would have expected that it was the disciple who wrote down the story. For a discussion on the question of the authorship, see further Introduction, Chapter I, part 5. For the identification of Anastasia with the

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<sup>2</sup> *AP/G* Arsenios 36 is a very similar (but shorter) version of the saying.



## **8. *Anastasia Patrikia***

deaconess Anastasia who appears as the addressee of a number of letters written by Severos of Antioch, and another suggested identification, see Introduction, Chapter II, part 6.

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The vocabulary is selective, the list of names complete. An asterisk indicates that the word is missing in the dictionaries of LSJ (with *Supplement*), *DGE*, Lampe, Sophocles, *TGL*, Du Cange, *LBG*, Kriaras, and Demetrakos, or that it is found in Lampe or *LBG*, who refers only to the Daniel text in question.

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Britt Dahlman, *Saint Daniel of Sketis. A Group of Hagiographic Texts Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Uppsala 2007

## Corrigenda

<i>On page(s)</i>	<i>in stead of</i>	<i>read</i>
7, l. 23; 8, l. 9	Wissenschaften	Wissenschaften
15, l. 21; 24, l. 20	<i>apophtegmes des pères</i>	<i>Apophtegmes des Pères</i>
20, l. 28	<i>Altchristliche</i>	<i>altchristliche</i>
24, l. 8	d'ascès	d'ascèse
25, l. 27	Clothes Make the Man	<i>Clothes Make the Man</i>
27, l. 5	<i>Byzantinischen</i>	<i>byzantinischen</i>
30, l. 32; 31, l. 1	<i>sentences des pères</i>	<i>Sentences des Pères</i>
31, l. 13	<i>l' Orient</i>	<i>l'Orient</i>
35, l. 33; 61, n. 100	Synaxarium	<i>Synaxarium</i>
43, l. 22	the story of the drunken woman	the story of the woman who pretended to be a drunkard
52, n. 47	is longer giving	is longer, giving
55, l. 3	is	are
56, l. 21	<i>l' ivresse</i>	<i>l'ivresse</i>
63, l. 20	became	become
69, n. 151	Vat. S. Petri gr. C 149	Vat. Arch. S. Petri C 149
69, n. 151	An account of	An account from the life of
78, l. 13, 14	pope	patriarch
82, l. 4	murded	murdered
85, l. 2	a in cave	in a cave
102, l. 8	This	The same
102, n. 28	<i>inc.</i>	[delete]
104, l. 15–16	For the MS ... below.	[delete the entire sentence]
121, l. 6, 19	pope	patriarch
123, l. 4, 5, 21bis	pope	patriarch
138, l. 1 of the <i>apparatus criticus</i>	58 προσπίπτει: προσπείπει V	[delete]
196, l. 17	3:24–25	3:25
197, l. 1	<i>The Word</i>	<i>The Word in the Desert</i>
197, l. 21	3:11	3:10
198, l. 5	half-wits, cf.	half-wits; see

199, l. 23	7:18–19	7:17–19
200, l. 23	γὰρ	γάρ
203, l. 2	4B:63	4B:64
206, l. 8	8:42	8:42–43
207, l. 6; 215, l. 22; 223, l. 12; 233, l. 25	4B:62–63	4B:64
209, l. 26	2:30	2:29
215, l. 30	of phrase	of the phrase
218, l. 30; 221, l. 31	4B:60–61	4B:61
222, l. 18	2:16–17	2:15–16
229, l. 8	μεγάλη	μεγάλη
233, l. 16	3:40	3:39
234, l. 26	2:62–63	2:60
237, l. 3	5:21	5:20–21
238, l. 23	8:25–26	8:26
239, l. 9	5:73–76	5:72–75
254, l. 14	ἵχνος	ἵχνος

Insert into the Bibliography, on page 33, after “VloE”:

Vivian, “Abba Daniel”	Tim Vivian, “Abba Daniel of Scetis”, <i>Bulletin of Saint Shenouda. The Archimandrite Coptic Society</i> 6 (2000–2001), 94–103.
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Insert into the *apparatus criticus*, on page 136, line 3, after “transp. V”:

|| 58 προσπίπτει: προσπείπει V

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